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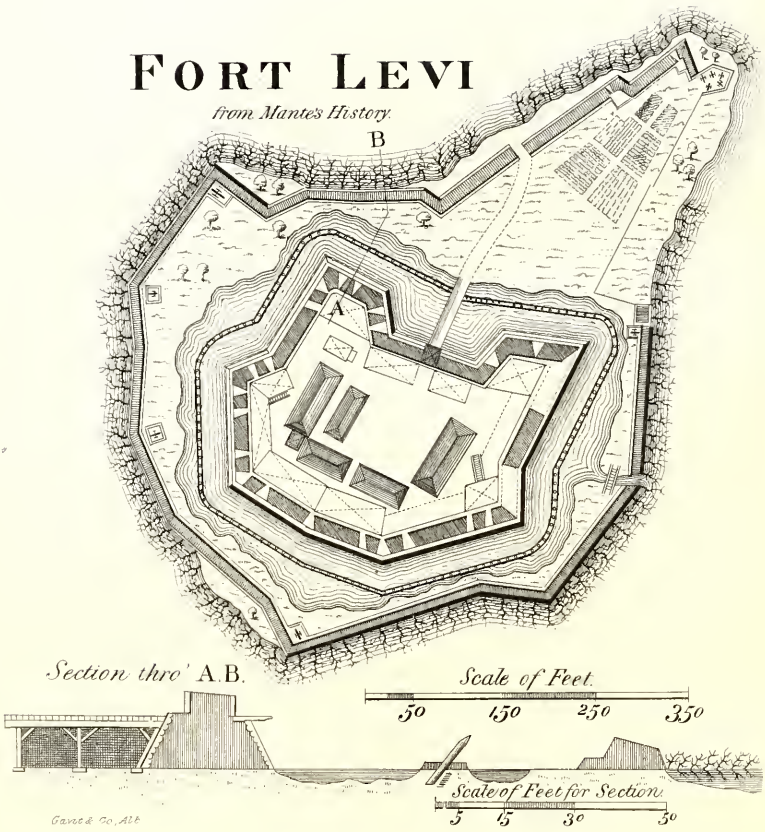

MEMOIR

UPON THE

Late War in North America,

BETWEEN THE

FRENCH AND ENGLISH,

1755-60;

FOLLOWED BY

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE THEATRE OF ACTUAL WAR, AND BY NEW DETAILS CONCERNING THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS; WITH TOPOGRAPHICAL MAPS.

BY M. — POUCHOT,

Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis; former Captain of the Regt. of Bearn; Commandant of Forts Niagara and Levis in Canada.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

FRANKLIN B. HOUGH.

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

In preparing an English translation from an authentic narrative by an intelligent observer, of the events of the war of 1755-60,[1] we hope to contribute a valuable addition to the literature of an interesting period of American history. Our impressions of these events, have been chiefly derived from English authors, who often evinced a partizan spirit in their narratives unworthy of the historian, and who even when they sought to leave a faithful record, could at most, present but a partial statement of what they saw on their side. The incidents of a battle or of a siege, as witnessed from an English camp, might appear quite different, if seen through the loop-holes of a fort, or from behind the intrenchments of the French, and a full and truthful knowledge of the whole subject can only be attained by the study of the historians of both parties.

The memoirs here presented, bear conclusive evidence of having been written in a spirit of candor and truth, and being chiefly founded upon personal observation, or the statements of eye witnesses, they possess the merit of being original

[1] Memoires sur la derniere Guerre de l'Amerique Septentrionale, entre la France et l'Angleterre, suivis d'Observations, dont plusieurs sont relatives au théatre actuel de la guerre, de nouveaux détails sur les moeurs les usages des Sauvages, avec des Cartes Topographiques. Par M. *Pouchot*, Chevalier de l' ordre Royal & Militaire de St. Louis, ancien Captaine au Régiment de Béarn, Commandant des forts de Niagara de Lévis, en Canada. — *Yverdon*, M.DCC.LXXXI, 12*mo*, 3 *vols.*, *pp.* 184, 308, & 380, *with three maps.*

authority. The narrative of an Indian scout, or of a deserter, even though partly or entirely erroneous, becomes itself a part of history, when it leads to military movements or preparations, and we cannot duly estimate the merit of events, without understanding all the causes which operated in producing them.

The author doubtless prepared these memoirs as his own justification in the affairs with which he had been concerned, and he freely presents his own merits upon every occasion; yet we find nothing inconsistent in his career as an honest, brave and energetic officer, inspired with honorable ambition, and an earnest zeal for the success of the French arms. The entire freedom with which he speaks of the corruptions of the administration, is a sufficient proof that he was not a partner to the frauds which hastened the downfall of the French in Canada.

Although this work has been in the hands of historians engaged upon the special period to which it relates, it is scarcely known in our public libraries, or in private collections of American history. We are indebted to the library of Harvard University in Cambridge, for the use of the copy from which this translation was prepared. Our especial thanks are due to Mr. J. Langdon Sibley, the accomplished librarian of that institution, for facilities which have been of the greatest service.

It will be observed that the original edition was printed in Switzerland, fourteen years after the author's death, under the care of an editor whose name does not appear. It is probable that some restriction of government, upon publications of this class, may have occasioned its issue beyond the limits of France.

The notes of the original edition are in all cases designated, and to those which we have added, we have usually given the authorities upon which based, or from whence derived.

F. B. H.

Lowville, N. Y., Feb. 10, 1866.

PREFACE OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.

We may seek in vain among the numerous periodicals—the archives of falsehood and ignorance, for the materials of history. Special memoirs can alone supply them, and in now publishing those of M. Pouchot upon the late war in North America, we believe that we fulfill this important object at a happy moment—that of the revolution, which has broken the fetters of that continent, and changed the political system of Europe.

Several works upon this war have appeared long since in England, but their partizan tendency made it desirable that we should have accounts more faithful and better capable of transmitting to posterity those traits of valor which in the new world sustained the honor of the French nation, even in the midst of reverses. These were so constant, that fortune in displaying them in every part, seemed to contradict her character.

If the prejudices of state appear sometimes to mislead M. Pouchot, we venture the assurance, that they

are never so strong as to lead him to betray the interests of *truth*, either by alteration or disguise. This quality is impressed upon all his narratives, and is expressed with a simplicity that often degenerates into a too obvious negligence of style. We can easily pardon this fault in an officer less careful in saying, than in doing well. Besides this, the language of camps is not always that of the tribunals of oratory.

Those parts of this work in which the sense might appear unintelligible or obscure, are almost the only ones we have ventured to correct. We have allowed ourselves some light retrenchments. Perhaps the author would have made himself a greater number if he had found time to review his memoirs, in which it was still necessary to change the order of several parts.

In fact a more careful reader would be impatient at finding historical narratives placed after the excellent geographical observations which they tend to illustrate, and to which we have added some remarks upon the Apalachian Mountains and the Falls of Niagara. We have therefore with reason, placed these observations at the end of the memoir, and before the precious details upon the manners and customs of the Indians. This latter essay, is the result of those relations which our author as commander, was obliged to form with the principal nations of the continent of North America.

EULOGY UPON M. POUCHOT.

A literary man identifies himself in his works; their merit is the measure of his praise, and their existence alone suffices for his glory. He, on the contrary, who devotes himself to his country's service, more willing to shed his blood for her than to perpetuate the memory of his own exploits, leaves to posterity the care of doing him justice. We are therefore under strong obligations to collect these titles of honor where they can be safe from the sponge of oblivion, especially when the theatre of action was a distant country, and they ran the greater risk of being buried. Of such were the intrepid defenders of Canada, among whom, M. Pouchot holds a distinguished rank.

In publishing his memoirs, we acquit his fellow citizens of a debt, and in giving him here the just tribute of our praise, we satisfy our own duty. The Truth will never have occasion to reproach us. It is not to do injury that we borrow his language. Simple and precise, it rarely becomes deceitful—a quality that always needs precedents.

M. Pouchot was born at Grenoble in 1712, of a worthy father, who had not sought in commerce the dangerous means of bequeathing scandalous luxuries, and by enriching his heirs, to render them good-for-nothing Sybarites. He left by a premature death, the sad liberty to his widow of another marriage, which she hastened to improve. The feelings of the mother lost strength from day to day in the arms of her new husband; the voice of interest became more powerful, and plunged the children of the first marriage into deepest gulf of misery from which they could scarcely emerge. The author of these memoirs, to avoid the sacrifice of his talents, like others less prudent but more eager for profit, entered the service in 1733 as a volunteer engineer, a position to which nature had destined him. He lost nothing of his rights, when the next year he passed to the regiment of Béarn. Far from believing that his new employment made application needless, or that he could now live idly at rest, he continued to study the great art of Vauban and Cohorn in the midst of the tumult of camps.

His attainments were not long unobserved, but attracted the notice of M. de Maillebois, who put M. Pouchot in the way that his genius led him. This general directed him to labor under M. Bourcet, upon the entrenchments of Borgo-Forte, in the Sarraglio, and upon those of Ferrara upon Mount Baldo. The war in Corsica furnished our author with other occasions to gratify the irresistible desire always arising in

strong minds of being usefully engaged. He was employed in fortifying these posts, and in laying out roads in the interior of that unhappy island, whose poverty could not save it from the yoke of those inflexible tyrants, the republican and despotic Genoese.

We will not follow M. Pouchot through all the campaigns of Italy, Flanders and Germany, whose glory he shared with the French troops. In 1744, he was charged by government with examining the route of Tyrol, and in preparing a map which he accompanied by an instructive memoir. In the last year but one of this war, he entrenched the camp of Tournai, under the orders of M. de Villemur.

These services obtained for our brave officer a reward, that of captain by brevet, and the cross of St. Louis. These were to him as a *due*, and not as a *favor*, a ministerial term, in truth very improper in its origin, but which unfortunately we may nowadays often justify in the use.

The peace not being settled upon a solid basis, the ambition of England soon sought to overthrow it. To anticipate or stop her enterprises, France sent several battalions to Canada. That of Béarn, to which M. Pouchot was attached, was one of these. The memoirs we publish render it needless to enter here upon any of the details, of the brilliant actions and important services of this officer. The defense of Niagara called forth all those varied resources that his genius did not fail to furnish him. He never

yielded to his wants which increased in proportion to the superior forces of the enemy. He was not overwhelmed at Fort Lévis, in the ashes of which it would be due after death to place his tomb, and to erect a monument worthy of his intrepidity.

If he there escaped the sword of his country's foes, it was only to be exposed to the bitter assaults of calumny at home. M. Berryer, Minister of the Marine, mindful of having been a lieutenant of police, thought he should employ this civil inquisition so useful to restrain a vile and corrupt populace, but too often turned against the peace of the good, — to hunt out the authors of the many abuses and transgressions that had occasioned the loss of Canada. In pursuance of this, he engaged an informer to play the part of a parasite, to the end that he might discover all those whose relations with the commissary general might lead to suspicion of their conduct. He had shared the hospitality of M. Pouchot's table, having come to speak of the provisioning of Fort Lévis. This did not however prevent M. Kervisian, for that was the name of the informer, from accusing this brave officer upon his return to France.

M. Berryer had then left the ministry. His successor without adopting his system of espionage, wished nevertheless to profit by this unlucky circumstance where the truth had for its adversaries the guilty, who sought to multiply their accomplices to shield themselves from exemplary punishment. Se-

veral *lettres de cachet* were issued, ordering the accused to be taken to the Bastile.[1] M. Pouchot was reposing in the bosom of his family from the fatigues of war, when he learned with surprise that they intended to arrest him. He did not wait for this, but instantly repaired to the court.

In presenting himself to the minister, he spoke in these words: "I have come from Canada, where I have a thousand times exposed my life for the interests of my country. Her enemies offered me employment, money, and an advantageous position, but I rejected their offers. The loss of my patrimony is all the fruit left me for my labors and my services. What do you want? Of what do they accuse me?"

The thunder of Power ceased to mutter when the voice of Innocence was heard. They only replied to M. Pouchot by praising him, and said they only needed witnesses like him to convict the guilty. "I now see," he replied, "that some vile defamer, — an infamous spy, whom you have shamefully raised to the grade of an officer, is the soul of this proceedure. What affinity could I have with M. Bigot[2] and his accomplices?

[1] By a royal commission, issued in December, 1762, more than fifty persons were ordered to be tried for frauds or misconduct in the affairs of Canada, including the Governor, Intendant, seventeen Commandants of Posts, two Commissaries of the Marine, and one Commissary of the Superior Council of Quebec. The trial lasted three years, and the court decreed that twelve millions of livres should be restored to the king. — Ed.

[2] François Bigot was accused by Cadet, Contractor General of Canada, on his return to France, and thrown into the Bastile, where

Would they cry down a witness who would refuse to testify for them?" M. Pouchot having promised to report himself whenever they wanted him, was not only permitted to go freely, but they furthermore assured him that he should shortly enjoy the recompenses due to his services. But he received none. At the court they imbibed constantly from the waters of the stream of oblivion, to anticipate its effect. He was there but for a moment, and the information only prevented M. Pouchot from being seized.

After the affair of Carillon, M. de Montcalm had asked for him a brevet of Lieutenant Colonel. The minister granted him only a moderate pension. The man so distinguished in that memorable combat, and who afterwards defended with such valor and intelligence the forts of Niagara and Lévis, could not breakdown the barriers which separated the employed subalterns from the superior grades, an obstacle over which intrigue would manage to triumph without difficulty.

Having obtained neither favor nor advancement, and with only the satisfaction of being judged worthy of them, M. Pouchot returned to Grenoble. He sought no revenge for the ingratitude of his country but from new services, and he seized with ardor upon the occasion which the troubles in Corsica presented, and

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he remained eleven months in close confinement. He was subsequently banished to Bordeaux, where he spent the remainder of his life in ease and comfort. — *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 1126. — Ed.

which first begun by tyranny and then increased by habits of license and terror, were destined to destroy him by the first fire.

Three months before he left for this island, he undertook at the solicitation of his friends, to write his memoirs. This short space of time did not permit him to arrange them with care, nor to use his materials properly. They are not the less interesting nor less useful, for, to a knowledge of his art, the author joined that courage to tell the truth, which is so often silenced by fortune, of which faint heartedness is a striking attribute.

Upon arriving in Corsica, M. Pouchot was employed after his taste, but this time with sad result. Having received orders to advance, with a detachment of fifty men, to reconnoitre a post, he was abandoned by his own, and killed on the 8th of May, 1769, by some Corsicans concealed in the bushes. Thus Death which he had often braved, sought to gain his end, and by a kind of revenge, had recourse to the hand of vile assassins to give the final stroke.

His generals regretted him, and his loss was lamented by his family which was very large. Among all its members equally distinguished for their virtues and their services, he had chosen before his departure, for his heir, one of his brothers, who having passed a long time in the employment of the finance, had never breathed its contagious air, and who well deserved the public esteem.

CERTIFICATE OF M. LE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.

We, Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, of the Grand Cross of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, formerly governor and lieutenant general for the king, of all New France:

Certify, that Sieur Pouchot, captain of the regiment of Béarn, has conducted himself in the different commands which we have entrusted to him, of Forts Niagara and Lévis, as well in their construction, with which we charged him as in their defense, with all the sagacity, zeal, intelligence and economy which could be expected from an accomplished officer. We certify the same of his talents in managing the Indians, and in attaching them to the service, during the sieges which unfortunate circumstances obliged him to sustain, and in which he maintained the honor of the king's arms with a rare valor, and which have gained him merited esteem:

1st, At Niagara, where he maintained himself nineteen days in an open entrenchment, with four hundred and fifty men of the troops and militia, of whom one

hundred and seventeen were killed or wounded, against about five thousand English and Indians, of whom the first two generals, Prideaux and Johnson were killed.[1]

2d, At Fort Lévis, with two hundred and fifty men, soldiers and militia, where there were sixty men killed and wounded. Among the first of these, was his artillery officer. With this small force, he sustained himself eleven days against General Amherst, who had eleven thousand men, regular troops and Indians, with formidable artillery; and especially when attacked by a heavy force by land and water on the 22d of August by the enemy. He then grounded and took a brigantine of twenty-two guns, in which were three hundred men. He then grounded two others, one of eighteen pieces, and the other of ten pieces of twelves. He behaved with equal distinction in the other operations in which he employed him, and in other occasions where he was found, as at Oswego, where he directed the siege of that place, and equally at the affair of Carillon, of which we gave an account to the minister at the time.[2] In testimony of which we have signed for him this present certificate, and have attached the seal of our arms, at Paris, the 6th of May, 1761. Signed,

VAUDREUIL.

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[1] Prideaux only was killed — ED.

[2] See *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 779. — ED.

INTRODUCTION.

Notwithstanding a century and a half of possession, the French never derived any profit from that vast region of North America known under the name of Canada. The colony so planted was, so to speak, still in its infancy when it passed under a foreign yoke. They might have doubtless come out from this state of weakness, or rather of non-existence, and have become in time, very useful to the mother country, had they been better known, and had we not been so often deceived by those who should have enlightened us. We had in France such false ideas of this country, that it was deemed only valuable for the fur trade, and it was believed that there was no distinction between the colonists proper and the Indians.[1] Ignorance and blindness finally went so far as to cause congratulations at its loss.

[1] It was even supposed in France, that a Canadian had an extraordinary figure and still stranger manners. In New England, although near Canada, they still in the late war, regarded the inhabitants of that country as demi-savages, because they were persuaded that the French took no wives except from among the Indians. — *Note in Original.*

England, to prevent its rival from opening her eyes to the advantages of Canada, meditated an invasion of the territory in time of peace. The court of London at length became wearied of wasting its strength and treasure, in fruitless attempts to injure the French by succoring her enemies; and soon after the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle,[1] it formed a project to appropriate the French colony of Canada or New France, which came to be regarded as the most solid bulwark then opposed to its enterprises. It was from the first, an object to carry upon the river St. Lawrence the establishments which we had early formed on the borders of Acadia, and those we had projected, as well on the side of Hudson's Bay as beyond the Alleghanies, toward the Ohio River, or upon the banks of lakes Ontario and Erie, where we were not limited by boundaries. It would result from this plan, that whatever remained to France would be useless to her, since they could hold the entrance.

The council at St. James, gave good attention to the complaints and reclamations on the part of France, who proposed to nominate commissioners from each nation to agree upon the boundaries of their respective colonies. This proposition was accepted, and they decreed as a preliminary, that nothing should be undertaken in the country upon whose territory a decision was to be made. This convention had scarcely been

[1] Oct. 7, 1748. — Ed.

signed, when England made no scruple in violating it. Her commissioners were never able to agree with those of France, because they were secretly ordered to constantly excite difficulties and to agree upon nothing. Louis XV meanwhile desired peace at whatever price, and his ministers believed that they could secure and maintain it upon conditions which England would not have rejected under any other circumstances. But she now availed herself of the preponderance of her naval forces, to destroy the commerce of the French, whose progress had aroused her hatred and excited her jealousy.

Had we penetrated this motive, we should not have been astonished that the British ministry did not respond to the advantageous propositions of the court of Versailles, except by inadmissible demands. Notwithstanding this, they pretended to negotiate, and to seek peace; "but they had no other object," as a judicious statesman has observed, "than to concentrate their enterprises, and to inspire France with a security which prevented her from preparing for war, by calling out her full forces."[1]

Some philosophers, or rather those who thought they merited this name, at every chance they could find, have sought to impugn and turn to ridicule the conduct of these princes, but they have been obstinate in misconceiving the true causes of this war. They

[1] *Public Law of Europe*, vol. iii, p. 194. *Note in Original.*

have repeated to their mutual shame, that France had exposed herself to so great reverses, and had shed so much blood, only for the possession of some *tracts of ice, and savage countries or worthless deserts.* Such was the language of an ignorant cynic! Such the expressions that pride and presumption would consecrate as oracles of a sublime reason!

Persons better informed, have not, it is true, brought so much reproach upon France, but they have accused her commissaries of incapacity and passion, and her ministers of ambition, and of not having sincerely desired peace. The author of the memoir which we now publish, appears to have had some of these prejudices. We think we may assure his readers that they will find in the manifestoes of France, numerous and incontestable proofs, that the pretenisons of England towards Canada, were not the cause, but the pretext of the late war.

MEMOIR UPON THE LAST WAR.

Before entering upon the details of the war which has resulted in the loss of Canada, it may be necessary to say a few words of the claims of the two powerful nations who had formed establishments upon a continent, where originally they had no rights, and were respectively unable to acquire any, except what they carried with them. We do not speak of the natives' rights, which these powers counted as nothing, although these natives thought it very strange that they should be driven from the country in which the Master of Life had, according to their belief, created them; where they had always lived, and where the bones of their forefathers formed almost their sole title of possession. They wished to know no masters, as they had none among themselves.

These foreigners therefore, established and maintained themselves by force. They found many points of contact which became a subject of strife. The English, penetrating upon the upper Hudson, met the

French establishments upon Lake Champlain. The colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania became flourishing, and wished to extend their Indian trade to beyond the Alleghanies, where they found themselves upon tracts already ours, and this led to complaints at both courts. Each sent on parties to confirm their rights by occupation, and jealousy soon led to troubles.

Let us begin with the claims of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, without noticing the prior details of the peace of Utrecht. The English in 1714, sent a regiment to Annapolis, on Port Royal, to take possession of Acadia, but made no further effort to fix themselves on this peninsula, of which at least three fourths were occupied by the French and their Indian allies. By the treaty of 1748, it was agreed,[1] that the limits of the French and English should be fixed amicably by their respective commissioners. In 1749 the English fixed themselves at Chibucton, and founded Halifax.[2] Everything remained quiet till the war of 1740, during which the Acadians, or French of Acadia, aided by the Canadians, formed several parties against the English, without its appearing that the latter pretended to regard the Acadians as their subjects.

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[1] Article XVIII, of the treaty referred to. — Ed.

[2] The scheme proposed for an English settlement in Nova Scotia was so favorable that 3,760 adventurers with their families embarked in May 1743, under the Hon. Edward Cornwallis, and laid the foundation of Halifax. A civil government was organized on the 14th of July, and active operations were at once begun. — *Haliburton's Nova Scotia.* — Ed.

During the discussions of these commissioners, they built Fort Beau-bassin, and the French, that of Beau-sejour.[1] The English likewise called upon the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance, and upon their refusing, they transported all except those that retired to the domains of Canada, and scattered themselves in the settlements. Although the English pretended to claim to the St. Lawrence, it still seemed by the erection of Beau-sejour, that they did not seriously wish more than the possession of the peninsula of Acadia. M. de la Jonquiere, commandant of the Canadians, and Col. Lawrence of the English, were entrusted with the settlement of the limits, but could decide nothing without force, or the marked unity of the two nations, and they did nothing but quarrel. Lawrence was more adroit, and Jonquiere, a seaman, was the more frank, but they were easily offended, spoke injuriously of each other, and soon came to open defiance. These quarrels passing to the commanders of the frontier posts led to the death of a commandant of Beau-bassin, who was killed by one of our Indians, at the instigation, as was charged, of one of our Sulpician missionaries, who was living with these people, and who being afterwards taken by the English, was allowed, through a natural but indiscreet policy, to

[1] Beau-sejour was at the head of Shegnekto or Chignecto Bay, the westerly head branch of the Bay of Fundy. After its capture by Col. Monckton in June, 1755, it was called Fort Cumberland, and the locality still bears this name. Beau-bassin was lower down on the same bay. — Ed.

perish in a dungeon.[1] This act did not then lead to an open rupture, although the treaty of 1748 did not end the war.

The English meanwhile, wishing to post troops in the village of Minas, which the French claimed, the governor of Canada sent a detachment in the winter to remove them. Coming to the king's village by night, and being well acquainted with the place, they separated so as to attack every house at once. It was near midnight, and the commandant having supped with his officers, went out, upon some occasion, and seeing a considerable fall of snow exclaimed, "Zounds! what a fine time for a Canadian!" He did not think of speaking so near the truth. Our men in ambush upon hearing him, raised a shout, and at once rushed into the houses, where they captured three hundred men, of whom the most wakeful were doubtless these officers.[2]

M. de la Jonquiere was succeeded by M. de la Galissonniere, a man well fitted by his talents for command in these regions, but he did not stay long enough

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[1] The author doubtless refers to the Rev. Louis Joseph de la Loutre, a missionary of Acadia, and a most virulent partizan of the French cause. After ruining his people by his rash councils, he abandoned them in their distress, found his way to Quebec, was received by the bishop with reproaches for his interference in secular affairs, and in August 1757, sailed for France. The vessel was captured, and the Abbé was thrown into prison in Island of Jersey, where he remained eight years. After the peace of 1763, he was allowed to return to France. — *Mem. sur le Canada, in Collec. of Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec*, 59, 60; *Knox's Journal*, i, 114. — Ed.

[2] See *Col. Hist. N. Y.*, x, 91. — Ed.

to advance the negotiation in which neither power would yield. He was relieved by M. du Quesne, who was charged with the same business. They were beset by parties who were continually making a petty war in Acadia, and involving the two nations more and more against each other.

M. du Quesne upon his arrival, took a fancy for an amiable dame, and formed connections with her family and friends. As usual, the husband was placed in one of the highest and best positions in the country. About the same time, M. Bigot passed from the intendency of Louisburgh, to that of Canada. He likewise attached himself to Madam Péan, wife of the Aid-major of the post of Quebec, and took great interest in this family. The Intendant was charged with everything relating to the finances, — the provisions, which were obtained by an excise, and the supplies of merchandize for the trade. In order that these two chiefs should mutually accommodate, it was necessary for them to agree, as also their associates. As these places were seldom held longer than from three to five years, the gentlemen usually sought to promote their own, and their friends' interests as much as possible within the time. Whether the project of an establishment upon the Ohio, was contrived among them to afford an occasion more favorable to their interests,[1] or whether the court had decided upon it,

[1] M. Pouchot gives these events under a false light. The motives of which he speaks may have determined the choice of the governor of

as tending to their advantage, this project was executed in the winter of 1753-4.

From seven to eight hundred Canadians were equipped and provisioned,[1] under the orders of M. Marin. Several colonial officers were first stationed at the Niagara portage, and in the spring, provisions, munitions of war, implements and merchandise, were sent in abundance. They took into that region goods of every kind, even to velvets, damask, shoes for women, silk hose, &c., and a plenty of Spanish wines. These goods were offered by the parties of whom we have spoken, and bought on the king's account. We presume there was no difficulty in agreeing to the price asked.

These goods were a long time in passing from the portage of Niagara, and from Presque Isle[2] to the

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Canada, for an officer to command on the Ohio, without having engaged to form there an establishment. His predecessor, M. de la Jonquiere, had already projected that which M. du Quesne hastened to execute, to anticipate the designs of the English, who sought to cut the connection between Louisiana and Canada. They moreover, made great preparations for attacking the French, under the pretext of aiding the Indians whom they had drawn under their protection. — *Note in Original.*

The French party sent to make a lodgment on the Ohio, in the beginning of 1753, was under the orders of Legardeur de St. Pierre. — *Entick* i, 96. — Ed.

[1] Every time that the Canadian troops went on a campaign, they were furnished with a soldier's overcoat, two shirts, a cap, mittens, a blanket, and a pair of seal skin shoes each month. They moreover gave to the officers, a bottle of wine daily, two kegs of brandy a month, a ham or a sheep, and powder and lead for hunting. — *Note in Original.*

[2] Now Erie, in Pennsylvania. — Ed.

Ohio, from want of horses and equipage, which caused the loss of nearly four hundred men, from scurvy or the fatigue of carrying the goods upon their backs. During this interval, the officers drank Spanish wines, and each one supplied himself as he pleased from the stores, of velvets, &c., which were not certainly merchandise for the Indians. Thus the provisions that reached the post of Du Quesne were in small quantities, and still more reduced by pilfering, and exposure to damage on the way. The officers and soldiers returning to Canada were therefore well equipped, and a verbal report of things used, made everything right. Upon these expeditions, the Chevalier Péan, whom the Intendant was quite willing to send away from his wife, was charged with making a journey with four hundred militia to Detroit and neighboring regions, well supplied with all sorts of provisions and goods, for presents to the Indians, under the pretext of attaching them to our cause.

Such a mission was needless, since this part had long been inhabited by the French, who had formed intimate relations with the Indians of that country, and besides, there were French officers at all the posts, to secure this object; — but it got rid of a husband, and a nice lot of goods for the company. Péan returned in triumph to Canada after this fine exploit.

M. de Contre-cœur remained commandant of Fort Du Quesne, which M. Mercier, an artillery officer, had

laid out and built. De Villiers, Jumonville and several other officers, were also left at this post.

During the summer they were informed, that a party of English had passed from towards the Forks of the Monongahela, and come to the Ohio to locate themselves. The council at Fort Du Quesne, determined to send Jumonville with a detachment of thirty armed men,[1] to require them to return, and he was the bearer of a letter demanding a surrender from the commandant. The English officer, notified by friendly Indians, of the approach of this detachment, awaited their arrival in a kind of ambuscade. Jumonville, seeing himself the weaker party, sought to show his letter, of which he was the bearer. The English, who did not wish to compromise themselves by a parley, fired upon the party, killing Jumonville and some others, and took the rest prisoners.[2] When news of this reached

[1] According to Mante, this detachment consisted of forty-five men. Of these but one escaped. — Ed.

[2] Did Pouchot here wish to hint that Jumonville had hostile views? The weakness of his escort does not allow us to suppose this. The Indians even, were not mistaken, and so esteemed the character of this officer, that at the moment of his assassination, they threw themselves between the French and English to protect him. We regret to know, that the celebrated General Washington commanded on this occasion the murderers of Jumonville. He acted, only, it is true, under the exact orders of his government, but he might have executed them in a manner less odious. — *Note in Original.*

The reader will find the subject of this affair with Jumonville fully discussed in Spark's *Life and Writings of Washington*. i, 46; ii, 437, *et seq.* The French had ten killed, one wounded, and twenty-one taken prisoners, while the English one killed and two or three wounded. The latter numbered one hundred and fifty when they set out from Will's creek. — Ed.

Fort Du Quesne, Villiers grieved at the death of his brother, asked leave to go and take vengeance in the Indian fashion. A council of war was held, of which the leading spirit was Mercier, and in which they resolved in writing, that without wishing to impair the treaty of Utrecht, Villiers should march with a detachment of three hundred men, to seek the English, who, to the number of five hundred, had begun a fort, in a place they had christened *Necessity*.[1] The French coming to this fort, took post behind the trees, and a little abattis built by the English. They had begun a ditch, which was already excavated knee deep, as the earth lay piled up, but the firing of the men, who aimed well, soon disabled a considerable number. The English, seeing themselves crippled by this murderous fire, asked to capitulate. They were received as prisoners on parole, upon condition that they should at once return those whom they had taken, and that they should give two officers as hostages.[2] M. de Vil-

[1] The site of Fort Necessity is in Fayette County, Pa., four miles east of Laurel Hill, and about three hundred yards south of the National road, on a creek emptying into the Yohiogany River. — *Pennsylvania Archives*, xii, 422, 423. — Ed.

[2] The two hostages were Captains Jacob Van Braam and Robert Stobo. The latter after a long captivity, and repeated attempts to escape, finally succeeded with a few others in leaving Quebec in a bark canoe, and in reaching the English fleet just before the fall of Quebec in 1759. The memoirs of Stobo were republished in Pittsburgh in 1854 with notes by N. B. Craig. Van Braam, in 1770 claimed and received a share of the Virginia bounty lands, and in 1777, was made Major of the 60th Foot, or Royal Americans. — *Hist. Braddock's Exped.*, *p.* 53. — Ed.

liers furthermore required them to give a statement[1] as to how they had killed[2] Jumonville so untimely, and then sent them away. They were obliged to do this, because they had been troubled to support those in their fort.[3]

[1] This statement is not preserved. Washington still commanded the fort when he surrendered to De Villiers. The relation of the latter officer does not agree with that of Pouchot. See documents in illustration, in Mem. de la France, No. ix. — *Note in Original.*

[2] The word used in the original is *assassiné*. — Ed.

[3] The battle of Great Meadows, fought July 3, 1754, is minutely described in *Sparks's Washington*, i, 55; ii, 456, *et seq.* The terms of surrender are given in the original, *ib.* 459. A hearsay rumor having reference to this event, is contained in the following letter. It was not confirmed, but on the contrary disapproved, and has never before been printed. It was ascertained that the Indian suspected had not been with Colonel Washington as confirmed by Mr. Crogan and one John Davis.

Oneida Carrying Place, *August* 13, 1756.

Sir: Major Craven has thought proper to send an Indian down to you by Mr. Read, as we suspect him to be in the enemy's interest, for while our cattle were feeding about half a mile behind Fort Newport, one of the guard which had the care of the cattle, heard the bushes behind him rattle. Upon this he lookt and saw this Indian coming out of the bushes. He cocked his piece at him; the Indian then cryed "Johnson Brother," and wanted to shake hands with the soldier. The soldier then asked him where he came from. The Indian answered, "from the lake." The soldier [asked] what made him come through the woods. He said he was afraid the soldiers would hurt him. When he came to the corporal of the guard, he asked him where he came from. The Indian said, "from Cadaraqui," and that they had repaired the fort; that it was built of lime and stone, eight foot thick. The place where the Indian was discovered is the same where one of our sergeants and one private man were scalped some time ago, and one sergeant taken prisoner. When he came to Fort Williams he was again interrogated where he came from. He said "from Cadaraqui," and that it was very strong; that last year we might have taken it, but now the French were twenty times stronger than we. He said also, that there were twelve more

The French returned in triumph to their garrison, and remained quiet the remainder of the campaign. Several officers returned to Canada, among whom was Mercier, who was there relieved by Lery, self styled an engineer. Mercier and Péan were sent to France to report the glorious and interesting events of their campaign. We may guess whether they took care to

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with him, and that formerly they had rewards for scalps, but now they were to take prisoners only. (On Sunday last, one of our men was missing, and has not been heard of since. He went out a fishing up the river.)

Corporal Man, of General Shirley's regiment says he knew this Indian in South Carolina, and that he then went by the name of Samuel Harris, and when he was with Colonel Washington at the Great Meadow, (Corporal Man then belonged to the Carolina Independent companies, and was then with Captain Macoy,) this same Indian and several others to about the number of fifty, went away on pretence to bring down their wives and families, and went over to Fort Du Quesne, and took the Half King, Silver Heels, Monekatuca, Cutaway Jack, Monekatucarton, and Free Robin, prisoners to Fort Du Quesne, and delivered them to the French. Three or four days after the above mentioned Indians were prisoners, they got leave to walk without the fort, and immediately came down to Colonel Washington, and informed him that the French and Indians were coming to attack them, and that this Sam. Harris, Delaware George, with whom this Indian used always to keep company, and a great part of the others had joined the French, and were coming with them to attack us.

James Battey, soldier in the Carolina Blues, was with Colonel Washington at the same time, and confirms what Corporal Man says. Corporal White, of my company, says that he knows this Indian to be a Shawanese. I suppose Silver Heels is with you, and will be able to inform whether what is said against this Indian is true or not. Major Craven desires his compliments.

Sir, your most obed't humble serv't.,

James De Lancey.

Sir William Johnson.

Another Indian account is given in the *History of Braddock's Expedition*, p. 45. — Ed.

inform the court, of the necessity of encouraging those useful establishments, especially such as they foresaw would occasion expense, and turn to the profit of their company.

When the English learned of the events in this part of America, they resolved to send, in the winter of 1754-5 Pepperell's, Shirley's, Halket's and Dunbar's regiments to America, to maintain their establishments. The first two were destined for Oswego, and the other two for Virginia, and from thence to the Ohio.

1755. France, learning of the departure of these regiments for America, likewise resolved to send the Queen's regiment, and the regiments of Artois, Burgundy, Languedoc, Guienne, and Béarn, which repaired to Brest, at the beginning of April, 1755.[1] They found a fleet of twenty-two ships of war, ready to receive the second battalions of these regiments, destined for America.[2]

We here give the details of this fleet, the finest which left our ports during the late war.[3]

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[1] Notwithstanding these active preparations for hostilities in America, war was not formally declared by England until May 18, 1756, and by France on the 9th of June of that year.

[2] That of the Marshal of Conflans was larger. — *Note in Original.*

[3] The French squadron which came out of Brest Nov. 14, 1759, under Admiral Conflans, consisted of 26 ships, mounting 1,612 guns, and manned by nearly 20,000 men. A list is given in *Entick's Hist.*, iv, 270. — Ed.

Armed Vessels of War.

The *Formidable*, of 80 guns and a crew of 900 men, under Commodore M. de Macnemara, commander of the fleet, and M. de Kersaint, flag captain; M. Duchaffault, second captain.

The *Entreprenant*[1] of 74 guns and a crew of 700 men, under Commodore M. Dubois de la Mothe, and M. de Sauzay, second captain, destined to conduct the troops to Canada, having on board M. de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, M. Dieskau, field marshal, commander of the French troops, and M. Daureil; intendant commissary to the land forces.

The *Palmier*, of 74 guns and 750 men; the Chevalier de Beaufremont captain, d'Orvilliers, second captain.

The *Héros*, of 74 guns, 750 men, M. de Montlouet, commodore; M. de Kermaban, second captain.

The *Bizarre*, of 64 guns and 500 men, M. de Salvert, commodore; de Marolles, second captain; destined for Louisburg.

The *Alcide*, of 64 guns and 500 men, M. Hocqart captain; M. de Paraveau, second captain. It had on board Col. M. de Rostaing, second in command of the French troops, and two engineers.[2]

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[1] This vessel was afterwards destroyed by the English on the capture of Louisburg in 1758. — *Mante*, p. 135. — Ed.

[2] In de Vaudreuil's Journal, he says there were three engineers. M. Rostaing was killed in an action that ended in the capture of this vessel, June 8. — Ed.

The *Eveillé*, of 64 guns and 500 men, M. de Fontes, captain.

The *Inflexible*, of 64 guns and 500 men, M. de Guoëbrìant.

The *Aigle*, of 54 guns, M. de Cousage.

FRIGATES.

The *Ametisthe*, of 30 guns and 220 men, M. Dubois, captain.

The *Fleur de Lys*, of 30 guns, 220 men, M. le Chevalier de Marinniere.

The *Sirene*, of 30 guns, 220 men, M. de Tourville.

The *Heroïne*, of 30 guns, 200 men, M. de Bory.

The *Comette*, of 30 guns, 200 men, M. de Ruis.

The *Diane*, of 30 guns, M. de l'Aiguelle.

The *Fidéle*, of 30 guns, M. de la Jonquiere.

ARMED VESSELS IN THE FLEET, FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF LAND TROOPS.

The *Defenseur*, of 74 guns, reduced to 24 guns, M. de Beausier, captain; 9 companies of Artois, embarked April 12th.

The *Dauphin Royal*, 74 guns, reduced to 24, M. de Montalais, captain; 9 companies of Burgundy.

The *Algonquin*, 74 guns, reduced to 24, M. de Villeleon, captain; 9 companies of the Queen's regiment embarked the 14th.

The *Espérance*, of 74 guns, reduced to 24, M. de Bouville, captain; a company of grenadiers, 3 sentinel companies of Artois, and 3 of Burgundy.

The *Actif*, of 67 guns, reduced to 22, M. de Chaumont, captain; 9 companies of Languedoc, embarked on the 6th.

The *Illustre*, 64 guns, reduced to 22, M. de Choiseuil; 9 companies of Guienne, embarked on the 4th.

The *Opiniondtre*, 64 guns, reduced to 22, M. de Moléans, captain; 9 companies of Béarn, embarked on the 8th.

The *Lis*, of 64 guns, reduced to 22, M. de Lorgerie, captain; 4 companies of the Queen's regiment, and 4 of Languedoc.

The *Léopard*, 60 guns, reduced to 22, M. de Chifreville, captain; 4 companies of Guienne, and 4 of Béarn.

The *Apollon* of 60 guns, M. de Gomain. 4 companies destined to serve the hospital.

The *Aquillon*, do., M. de Rigaudieres, 4 companies.

We will not forget to notice that Mercier and Péan embarked with M. de Vaudreuil. They had been consulted as oracles at Versailles upon this war, and were given to M. Dieskau as persons upon whose advice everything depended for success.

The regiments on their arrival, passed the review of M. de Crémille, inspector, who completed the companies which were to pass, at the expense of others of the same regiment, and these battalions were transferred to the marine corps. This change from land to sea service, saddened these troops, without scarcely knowing why. They looked upon the event as worse

than passing under an absolute foreign prince, as well on account of the usages, as in the manner of being treated.[1]

The fleet lay at anchor till the 3d of May, with adverse winds, but on that day, it having blown eight hours from the N. N. E., the general gave the signal to get ready. In ten hours and a half they were under way.

The *Formidable* and the *Entreprenant*, having taken the lead of the squadron, at noon were out of the harbor with a fresh wind, N. ¼ N. E. They then crowded sail till six in the evening, when the squadron formed an order of march in three columns, M. de Macnemara and the men-of-war to the windward, M. de Salvert in the centre, and M. Dubois de la Mothe to the leeward.

On the 5th, being in latitude 45° 47′ and longitude 11° 21′ west from Paris, in the afternoon, the general made signal to crowd sail without particular order. In the evening there appeared to the west three ships, one of which disappeared in the night, and the other two remained and followed in our wake. They were thought to be English frigates.

On the 7th, at 1 P. M., the *Entreprenant* fired a cannon and signaled the fleet to follow. The squadron of M. de Macnemara lay to, and then sailed W.

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[1] This false manner of viewing things, is as opposed to the public good as to the national glory, and happily these gloomy prejudices are daily becoming less. — *Note in Original.*

N. W. and ¼ N. W. A 4 o'clock P. M. the squadron was out of sight. It appeared that one of the frigates which followed, had lost a spar, which had not been noticed until this day. On the 25th, wind light from the E. S. E. and foggy. At 6 A. M. the general lay to, with the whole fleet. The wind turned to the S. S. W. very fresh, and they again sailed W. N. W., being in latitude 46° 9′ and longitude 46° 29′ from Paris, which they made out as 47 leagues from the Grand Bank. They saw icebergs of a quarter of a league in circuit.

On the 26th the wind from the S. S. W. veered to the W. and N. N. W. and the fleet was separated, and each vessel sought to keep with such as it met. The fog became so dense that the mainmast could not be seen by the helmsman. On this day, passed between fields of ice higher than a mast, and from a quarter to half a league around. The fleet did not again assemble until its arrival at Quebec.

The English, whose squadron [1] was cruising between the Grand Bank and Newfoundland, discovered some of our vessels on the lifting of the fog, and we recognized the sound of the firing of the *Alcide* and the *Lis* [2]

[1] Vice Admiral Boscawen sailed for America on the 22d of April, 1755, with a squadron of eleven ships of the line and one frigate, bearing in all five thousand nine hundred and forty-five men. There was on board a considerable land force, and he had orders to attack the enemy's fleet wherever he should meet them. — *Entick*, i, 127. — Ed.

[2] These vessels were taken June 7th, off Newfoundland by Admiral Boscawen's fleet. — *Pichon's Lettres et Memoires sur Cape Breton*, 248. — *Entick*, i, 137. — Ed.

The *Entreprenant* would have been also lost, if they had not taken a false direction in the fog. They did not go up the river higher than the Isle aux Coudres, having fears about the safety of navigation in a place where English ships of 110 guns have since sailed. The *Opiniônâtre* and the *Algonquin*, arrived first. They anchored on the 19th of June at Quebec, and the remainder were not long in coming up one by one.[1]

M. du Quesne[2] saw theregiments upon their arrival, and held interviews with M. M. de Vaudreuil[3] and Dieskau, upon the condition in which he left in their hands the affairs of the country. He assured them that every thing was quiet, and that the English who were said to be threatening Fort Du Quesne, could not cross the mountains with any considerable force; but of this did he have certain knowledge?

Although the country was destitute of everything, as well in munitions and provisions as merchandise, and had been drained by the late operations, they never-

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[1] Six vessels, viz: the *Bizarre*, *Esperance*, *Dauphin-Royal*, *Deffeuseur*, *Acquillon* and *Comette*, under the command of M. de Salvert, and having on board the battalions of Artois and Burgundy, separated near the Grand Bank to proceed to Louisburg, where they arrived on the 12th. *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 297. — Ed.

[2] M. Du Quesne disappeared from the theatre of American History at this period. In 1758, being in France, he was appointed to the command of all the forces, sea and land, in North America. In March, he sailed from Toulon, in command of a small squadron, which, however, was utterly discomfitted by the English. — Ed.

[3] Louis Phillippe Rigaud Marquis de Vaudreuil. A concise biographical notice will be found in the *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 385. He died in Paris, Dec. 14, 1802. — Ed.

theless thought it strange that such considerable forces had been sent to a colony which claimed to be able to defend itself. Some of our officers, however, whom curiosity led to visit the king's magazines, were much surprised in not finding over three hundred poor muskets for trade, a ton and a half of balls, and a very little powder, in a country threatened during four years with a war, and against which preparations had been made for an attack. They very naturally inferred that every one had been looking after their private interests, instead of the public welfare.

M. Dieskau began to treat his troops after the German style. He no longer could be seen by the common officers, and could receive no reports except from the chiefs of the several corps, whom he never consulted. This was a most troublesome practice for a small army. He yielded himself to Péan and Mercier, whom alone he saw and heard, and was not even willing to take advice and opinions from M. de Vaudreuil, who being a native of the country, and the chief of the colony, should have had a most intimate knowledge concerning it. These two fellows, unskilled in everything outside of their own interests, boasted after the Canadian fashion, that one of their number could drive ten Englishmen, and favored by a few unexpected successes, they grew more and more in confidence, and persuaded to measures, the results of which we shall have occasion to notice. Before even beginning his operations, which were directed by

these persons, M. Dieskau found the secret of disaffecting the governor of the country, and his own troops.

The French regiments spent the remainder of June at Quebec, and did not leave in bateaux for Montreal until the first days of July. They remained there until the 19th of that month.

During this interval, the officers formed an acquaintance with those of their new companions of the Marine, with whom they were to serve according to priority of commission, under an order issued for that purpose. The latter only rose above the grade of captain to fill staff offices. Those who had received the cross of St. Louis, had as much consideration shown them there, as Lieutenants General and Knights of the order of the Holy Ghost in France. Those who had headed armies of only three hundred men, were respected in the colony as Marshals of France.[1] A captain of the king's fleet coming into the country, was looked upon as a divinity, and carried himself with great haughtiness.

The Canadian officers, although brave, knew but little of the details of their profession, and Ramsay, the Major of Quebec, could not even give the orders. They knew but little about their men, who were always scattered among the inhabitants. If they were together at posts, as every one was looking after his own little interests, differences would spring up between the officers and the soldiers, alienating the

[1] All this is much exaggerated. — *Note in Original.*

latter, and as the means for compelling obedience were slight, rendering them insolent. Yet they were not always at fault, and the quality most esteemed by an officer or soldier in the country was, to be reputed as having good legs. As they engaged in no war without the help of the Indians, the latter directed all their operations, as well on the march, as in an attack.[1] With a better knowledge of the profession, and more subordination, they would have made excellent companies for light troops, both officers and men being quite brave. Their manner of warfare made them very proper for this service, and it would therefore have been very well to employ in the legions, such of these officers and troops as had gone to France, and were mustered out on their arrival.

These troops were very poorly armed, because the refuse arms of all the king's arsenals had been sent to this country. It was the same with the artillery, the cannon being all damaged by rust. He soon learned of the capture of Beau-sejour, which was attacked by six thousand English.[2] The garrison was sent to Canada, under parole not to serve within six months. Vercors, who commanded that place, was brought before a court martial, because the officer of artillery

[1] The author has here forgotten many facts, being often blinded by the prejudices of the service. — *Note in Original.*

[2] Col. Monckton captured this place on the 16th of June, 1755, after a siege of four days, and without erecting a battery against it. The place was named Fort Cumberland. — *Mante*, p 18, *Entick*, i, 139. — Ed.

had protested against the capitulation. It cannot be said that the forts built in this country are impregnable, since they cannot depend upon prompt succor.[1]

The regiments of Guienne and Béarn having been equipped for the field, left on the 19th of July for Frontenac. They embarked at La Chine in bateaux laden with provisions for that place, and Péan came thither to distribute supplies. Some wrangling ensued, because the troops did not receive the legal weight, which if wanted, could not be supplied in an uninhabited country. An officer who had quarreled with him a long time, because his men did not get eighty or a hundred pounds of bread or pork, having ended, Péan lightly shrugged his shoulders, to indicate the freedom which the want of a load would rather occasion.

The instructions of the troops going to Frontenac, required them to march with the greatest caution, and in case the enemy were found already there, they were ordered to take and hold some favorable point near La Presentation.[2] We may judge from this, how little M. du Quesne knew of the enemy's movements, while he pretended that they had nothing to fear on their side.

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[1] M. Pouchot should have here added that the English general Monckton, in seizing the forts of Beau-sejour and Gaspareaux, took advantage of the security formally promised by the court of London, that nothing should be done or attempted in Acadia, before the decision of the commissioners on boundaries, and which gave confidence to M. Vercours. — *Note in Original.*

[2] The present site of Ogdensburg. — Ed.

On the 3d of August, these regiments arrived at Frontenac.[1] On the 1st, while halting at a narrow pass, they were met by some Indians with scalps, who gave them the first news of an action that had been fought near Fort Du Quesne, on the 13th of July. We will here give an account, as received from some Canadian officers who were present, of the order of battle in which the English were found.

M. de Contre-cœur being apprised by the Indians, of the march of a large body of English from Fort Cumberland,[2] who were opening the road from day to day as they advanced; — sent a detachment of two hundred Canadians and colonial troops, under Captains Beaujeu and Dumas, with several other officers, having under them Indians of the upper country, and our domiciliated Indians, to the number of five hundred. This detachment expected to meet the English at some distance, and hoped by some surprise or check, to retard their march, rather than to prevent them from reaching Fort Du Quesne, as the officers were told that the enemy was in greatly superior force.

But the latter, confident in their numbers, proposed to come and form an establishment, feeling assured that it would cost them little beyond the trouble of show-

[1] Now Kingston, Canada. — Ed.

[2] General Braddock, who commanded these troops, had arrived there on the 10th of May, and the rest of his army on the 17th, after a very fatiguing march. — *Note in Original.*

The post at Will's Creek, now Cumberland, Md., was 179 miles from Baltimore. — Ed.

ing themelves, and convinced that they could take the fort in a day. They, however, marched with great caution, and upon arriving within three leagues of Fort Du Quesne, they halted after crossing a little stream near the house of a blacksmith named Frazer,[1] a German who had settled there to begin his trade with the Indians, but had left when the French began to occupy upon the Ohio.[2]

About eleven o'clock in the morning, the English began to defile over a hill forming a little mountain, with twenty cavalrymen at the head,[3] ten carpenters, two companies of Halke's grenadiers, the seven companies of that regiment, six recent companies of Virginia troops, three on the right and three on the left, while the regiment of Dunbar, and its grenadiers formed the rear guard. Then followed the laborers and twenty horsemen, forming the column under the orders of General Braddock. The artillery was in the centre, and the regimental baggage munitions and provisions were in the rear. All these equipages were

[1] John Frazer, an English subject, had been driven off at the instigation of the French. — Ed.

[2] The site of Braddock's defeat was near the mouth of Turtle Creek, eight miles in a direct line from Pittsburgh, or twelve by way of the river. The stream which the army had forded a little before the attack, was the Monongahela, which was here broad, shallow and easily crossed. The bed of the stream is from three to four hundred feet below the surrounding country. — *Sargent's Hist. of Braddock's Exped.*, p. 220. — Ed.

[3] The advance guard of the English was commanded by Lieutenant Col. Gage, afterwards a general in the British army, in the revolutionary war. — Ed.

well protected by troops who were ranged by companies in alternate order.[1]

The cavalry upon reaching the hill top, having discovered the French who were marching down a hill, fell back upon the advance guard, who were distant from them a full musket shot.

The French, on their part, upon seeing the English, threw themselves behind trees and began to fire, while the Indians passed to the right and left of the hill. They were thus exposed to a fire of musquetry and artillery from the column, and were not accustomed to hear such loud discharges, but seeing the French remain firm, and noticing that the fire was not very destructive, they with their accustomed cries, resumed each a place behind every tree.

The English were not expecting this attack, yet they held a firm aspect, facing to the front and flanks,

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[1] The arrangement of the march from the river's bank had been made as follows: The engineers and guides and six light horsemen proceeded immediately before the advanced detachment under Gage, and the working party under St. Clair, who had with him two brass six pounders and as many tumbrils or tool carts. On either flank, parties to the number of eight were thrown out to guard against surprises. At some distance behind Gage, followed the line, preceded by the light horse, four squads of whom also acted as extreme flankers at either end of the column. Next came the seamen, followed by a subaltern with twenty grenadiers, a twelve pounder, and a company of grenadiers. Then the vanguard succeeded, and the wagon and artillery train, which began and ended with a twelve pounder; and the vanguard closed the whole. Numerous flanking parties, however, protected each side; and six subalterns, with twenty grenadiers and ten sergeants, with ten men each, were detailed for this purpose." — *Sargent's Hist. Braddock's Exped.*, p. 226. — Ed.

but seeing that they covered too much ground, they made a movement to advance, and returned a very sharp fire, the officers on horseback, sword in hand, animating their men. After the death of M. de Beaujeu, who was killed on the first fire, M. Dumas[1] took command of the French, or rather, they continued each one to do his best in the place they were in.

Soon afterward, the English abandoned two pieces of artillery, and fell back toward the rear of their column, which still pressed towards the front, to attack, but they lost their cannon one by one, and were thinned out by the musketry during a space of five hours. The Indians taking this movement of the column from the front towards the rear, as a tendency to retreat, rushed upon them with their tomahawks, as did the French also, when they disbanded, and a great massacre followed.

They pursued the English, who threw themselves into the stream to swim, and many were killed in crossing. They did not, however, pursue far, because the Indians could not wait to plunder and drink. They counted on the battle field six hundred, on the line of retreat about four hundred, and along a little stream three hundred men. The total loss was estimated at 1,270.[2] They abandoned their wounded, who

[1] After the peace he was made brigadier, and governor of the isles of France and Bourbon. — *Note in Original.*

[2] The most careful returns of the English showed the total number as 456 killed, 421 wounded, and 583 safe. This did not include women and servants. The French loss was reported at three officers killed

mostly perished in the woods.[1] Of one hundred and sixty officers, only six escaped. They took two twelve pounders, four six pounders, four howitzers, twelve Cohorn mortars, their ammunition and provisions, a hundred covered wagons, military chest, and all the baggage of the officers, who were well equipped, and from whom the Canadians and Indians derived great profit.[2]

This action, the most important and glorious that the Indians had ever witnessed, and which was partly won by the accuracy of their own fire, only cost them eleven killed, and twenty-nine wounded.

If on a battle field, with no natural advantage, this event could happen to brave and well disciplined troops, from not knowing how to fire steadily, and not being acquainted with the kind of enemy they had to deal with, it is an impressive lesson upon these two points. This victory, which was received on the 9th of July, put the whole country in good spirits for the

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and two wounded; two cadets wounded; twenty-five soldiers and Indians killed, and as many more injured. — *Hist. Braddock's Exped.*, p. 238. — Ed.

[1] About 2,000 effective men were in this action, as shown by the papers of Gen. Braddock, who lost his life after having five horses shot under him. — *Note in Original.*

[2] The official return of captures reported 4 brass pieces of calibre of 11 lbs.; 4 do. of 5½ lbs.; 4 brass howitzers of 7½ inches; 3 grenade mortars of 4⅕ inches; 175 balls of 11 lbs., 57 howitzers of 6¾ inches, 17 bbls. powder of 100 lbs.; 19,740 musket cartridges, large quantities of articles for a siege, 4 to 500 horses, about 100 head of cattle, a large amount of flour and other stores, besides the booty and plunder of money, utensils, clothing, &c. — *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 311. — Ed.

campaign, and averted the project of a general invasion of Canada. According to the plan which had been concerted between Shirley and Lawrence, governor of Acadia, who had formerly been sent on this business to London, it was agreed:

1st. That Col. Monckton should at once attack the French forts in Acadia, who executed without delay these orders in the expedition of which we have already noticed the success.

2d. It was agreed that Johnson, with an army of about four thousand men, raised in the northern colonies, should surprise Fort Frederic[1] and render himself its master.

3d. That Shirley with his own and Pepperell's Regiment, should attack Fort Niagara, that he should receive a sufficient number of bateaux to transport his troops and artillery by way of Lake Ontario, and that he should reinforce the garrison of Oswego, so that it might become a place of safety, in case it was necessary to retreat under pursuit.

4th. Besides attacking Fort Frederic, Col. Johnson was charged with important negotiations with the Five Nations, whom they wished to engage absolutely for the war. He was to deliver speeches already prepared, and two thousand pounds were to be used as presents.

5th. The remainder of the expedition was reserved by General Braddock for himself. It was agreed that he should leave on the 20th of April for Fredericks-

[1] Since called Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. — Ed.

town, so as to reach the mountains early in May, in order to finish in June, the business he proposed to accomplish upon the Ohio, or the Beautiful River.[1]

The regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, with the militia of New York and New Jersey,[2] according to the plan we have spoken, arrived at the end of June at Oswego, from whence they could equally menace both Frontenac and Niagara. Bad weather and a sickness which prevailed among them, prevented the execution of their designs. They employed themselves during this campaign, in forming an intrenched camp around Oswego, and in building Fort Ontario on the other side of the river. They also undertook to build vessels to form a fleet upon the lake.[3]

The regiments of Guienne and Béarn on their part, entrenched themselves near Frontenac, to cover their camp, and protect the fort. As they had no engineers among them, M. Pouchot, a captain of Béarn, undertook the work, and very easily brought everything to

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[1] We derive these details from the French *Memorie Justificatif* prepared from the papers of Gen. Braddock. We have deemed them necessary to illustrate the events of this campaign. — *Note in Original.*

[2] The Jersey Blues, commanded by Col. Schuyler. — Ed.

[3] The first English schooner on Lake Ontario was launched this summer. She had forty feet keel, mounted fourteen swivel guns, and was made to row when necessary. The fleet fitted out by the English at Oswego in 1755, consisted of a decked sloop of eight four-pounders and thirty swivels, a decked schooner of eight four pounders and twenty-eight swivels, an undecked schooner of fourteen swivels and fourteen oars, and another of twelve swivels and fourteen oars. All of these were unrigged and laid up early in the fall. — *Mante.* — Ed.

favor his arrangements. The Canadian officers, who had never seen the like, announced it throughout the colony as an impregnable work.

M. Dieskau left in August, with the Queen's regiment, and that of Languedoc, twelve hundred Canadians and three hundred Indians, for Fort Frederic, from whence, in the first days of September, he set out doubtless to establish himself at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, since called by the English Lake George. He passed with his detachment by the Bay.[1] Johnson had arrived a little before, with a force of five or six thousand militia, and was posted on the bank of the lake. Learning of the movement of the French, he threw up a kind of breastwork with his bateaux, around his army.

Being persuaded by Mercier and Péan, of the superiority of Canadians and Indians over the English, as confirmed by the event of Fort Du Quesne, M.

[1] Dieskau leaving 1,800 men at Carillon, took with him 300 Regulars of the Queen's and Languedoc regiments, 600 Canadians, and 600 Indians, and on the 4th of September set out to attack the English at Fort Edward carrying place. The army proceeded by way of South Bay to the Hudson, and upon arriving within three miles of their destination, learned that a detachment would soon be expected from Johnson's army at the lake. He decided to intercept this, and then to attack the camp.

The reënforcements consisted of about a thousand men under Col. Ephraim Williams, who fell into an ambuscade, and was speedily routed with great loss. Col. Williams and King Hendrick, a famous Mohawk chief, fell in this encounter.

In Baron Dieskau's apology for the disasters which followed, he lays the greatest blame upon the Indians, and especially upon the Iroquois, to whose influence he attributed every failure. — Ed.

Dieskau advanced with an assured confidence of beating these troops. Leaving the two regiments to guard his bateaux, as if unfit for this warfare, he took with him but two piquets, and two companies of grenadiers. In advancing from the lake, the Indians and Canadians met a force of three hundred men who had left Fort Lydius[1] to join Johnson, and who were totally defeated within sight of the intrenchments. M. Dieskau wishing doubtless to profit by the surprise which this affair might give to the English, resolved at once to attack them. In vain the Indians represented that they needed a little rest, and time to rally, as did also the Canadians, so that they could march together, but he stubbornly resolved to at once attack the intrenchment, with his two piquets and the grenadiers. The Indians upon seeing this, cried out, "Father! you have lost your reason, — listen to us!"

He appeared with his troops before the enemy, who greeted him with heavy volleys of cannon, yet this little force sustained itself very bravely, and lost ninety men.[2] M. Dieskau was thrown to the ground by a

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[1] Fort Edward. — Ed.

[2] Some English writers have stated that the French on this day lost from seven to eight hundred men killed, while Johnson lost but two hundred, including the first detachment under Col. Williams. — *Note in Original.*

The firing of Col. Williams's party was heard in Johnson's camp, and from its growing louder indicated the retreat of the English. Lt. Col. Cole was sent out with three hundred men, to cover the retreat. The following account of the attack is given by Mante. "This well-timed order, rescued many of them from destruction. He likewise

gunshot wound. The Canadians and their officers who ran to his assistance, sustained themselves well, but seeing that they were unable to drive the English who were in great force, and advantageously posted, they retired. M. de St. Piérre, an old Canadian officer of the best reputation, was killed on the first attack.

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ordered the stumps of some trees that had been burned down, to be piled in his front; and most of his men being expert at the axe, such whole trees as stood convenient for the purpose were soon felled, and added to the stumps so as to form with them a breastwork with as much regularity as the confusion of the time would admit. Such as it was, it was scarcely finished, when the remains of Col. Williams's party soon arrived at the camp. That the French had beat them, was the only certain account which they could give; as to the numbers of the enemy in particular, they represented it so differently, as to increase the confusion rather than lessen it. But soon the French themselves made their appearance in front, moving up to the English in one large column, and in good order, with their bayonets fixed, and a steady countenance; till discovering some cannon, they halted for a moment, not without showing signs that their ardor was a little abated by a sight so unexpected. However, the cannon of the English did not appear more disagreeable to them, than that of their bayonets to the English, who from some strange neglect, were not provided with any. When the French had recovered themselves a little, they set forward again; and about noon, at a distance of one hundred yards from the breastwork, began a regular platoon firing; but by this time, the English troops, having equally recovered themselves, plied their musketry and cannon so well, and thereby gave the French such a shock, that their Canadians and Indians abandoned the front attack, and crept behind the trees, upon the flanks of the English; and from thence continued firing, but with very little execution, as by this time the flanks had received an additional security of a breastwork. The French finding themselves thus deserted, thought proper to alter their platoon firing to the Indian method, and take shelter behind the trees. In this manner they advanced their front attack to within fifty yards of the breastwork, where they continued firing near two hours; till discovering they could not make the least impression on the front, they again altered their plan, and made an effort, first on the right wing, and then on the left: but these attacks proving equally unsuc-

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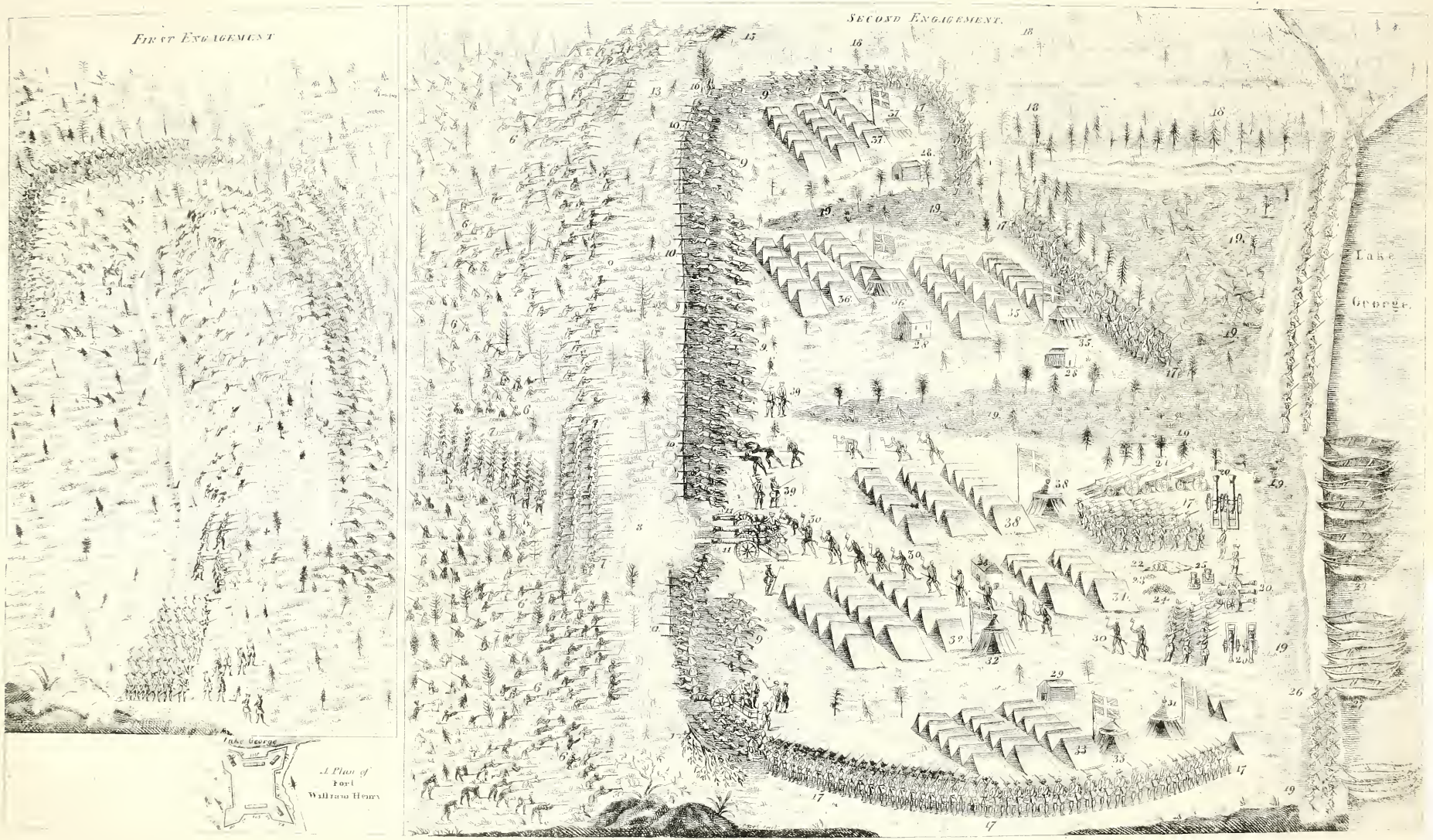
First Engagement
Second Engagement.
Lake George.
Lake George
A Plan of Fort William Henry

First Engagement.

M. Dieskau was left on the field wounded in the thigh, and was taken. An English volunteer who first approached him, seeing him put his hand in his pocket, thought he was taking a pistol, and to prevent this, shot him in the lower part of his bowels.[1] The English also took his aid-de-camp.[2]

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cessful with that upon the front, and numbers of men having fallen on every side, the remainder abandoned their hopes, and retired about four o'clock in the afternoon."

This author states that the French force consisted of two hundred grenadiers, eight hundred Canadians and seven hundred Indians. The English had one hundred and thirty killed, and the French two hundred and sixty. A long letter from Baron Dieskau written by him while a prisoner, a narrative by M. de Vaudreuil, the instructions of M. Dieskau, examinations of prisoners, and other documents of great interest will be found in the Brodhead Collection of *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, vol. x, p. 316, 345, 353, 360, 366, 422, 602.

Col. Ephraim Williams, who had served with reputation in several previous campaigns just before leaving Deerfield, made his will, giving a residue of his real estate for the establishment of a free school, in the township west of Fort Massachusetts, which afterwards became Williams's College.

Col. Williams at the time of his death was in his forty-first year. His body was concealed by his men to prevent mutilation, and it was afterwards buried at the foot of an old pine tree by the side of the military road four miles from the head of Lake George. The rock upon which he fell still stands by the ancient road. It is an irregular quadrangle and about seven feet high. On this rock the Alumni of Williams's College in 1854 erected a marble monument, about eleven feet high, with appropriate inscriptions and surrounded by a substantial iron fence. The land is secured by deed, and consecrated to the memory of Col. Williams. — *Durfee's Hist. Williams's College*, p. 46–269. — Ed.

[1] While the battle was raging, M. Dieskau retired one side about fifty paces from his troops He was first shot in his leg, and then in the knee. The final wound received from the English soldier well nigh proved fatal, and was for a time considered mortal as it passed through both hips and the bladder. — *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 317, 355. *Garneau's Canada*, iii, 36. — Ed.

[2] The name of this aid was De Bernier. Among the Johnson

It is quite probable that if M. Dieskau had taken with him his two battalions, who alone could hold firmly against such an attack, and had been contented with the aid of the Indians and Canadians who might have guarded the boats, he would have succeeded in his enterprise. We have since learned that these English militia were very well prepared to be beaten, and that they were with difficulty rallied to their own defence.[1]

This affair, however, gave the Indians an excellent opinion of the bravery of French troops, by the firmness which they evinced in the ranks. They sought after such Frenchmen as had not courage, and killed all they could find.

M. Dieskau was taken to New York, where he was healed of his two severe wounds by a good English surgeon. He was long under treatment. We do not know how he gained the ill will of the English, who always kept him extremely close: perhaps it was, that being obliged to leave much with his aid-de-camp, the indiscretion of the latter displeased them. They sent

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papers in the N. Y. State Library is a letter from him thanking Sir William for a loan of money in a time of great need. Baron Dieskau in writing to Count d' Argenson June 22, 1756, acknowledges that had it not been for the great influence he possessed over the Iroquois, they would have persisted in a demand that he should be burned at a slow fire in revenge for the death of their chief. The Baron was not exchanged until the peace of 1763. — Ed.

[1] M. Pouchot has not thought proper to add, that notwithstanding his success, Johnson did not venture to pursue the French, and that after their retreat, instead of attacking Fort Frederic, he retired to Albany. — *Note in Original.*

him in the winter to France, where he took occasion to relate the great abuses which his short sojourn in Canada had brought to his observation.

The court, to reward this man, son of a peasant of Dauphiny, who from an instructor had become a lieutenant in the royal Swedish regiment, sent him to Canada, in the following campaign, as commissary of war. In this office, he found occasion constantly during the war, to make himself still more hated by the English troops, while he was very little esteemed by the French. On his return to France, his accusations, which he turned to his own merit, gained him new favors from the court.

The French after this repulse, fell back upon Carillon. M. de Montreuil, aid-major-general, with the brevet of lieutenant colonel, was left in command. M. de Vaudreuil ordered a fort to be built. This work was conducted by M. Lotbinière a colonial engineer.[1] The French troops retired to winter quarters in Canada, leaving upon the frontier a detachment of four hundred men, under M. d' Hebecourt, a captain of the Queen's regiment.

The entrenchments of Frontenac, having, as we have said, gained a great fame throughout Canada, M. de Vaudreuil determined to write to M. Pouchot, captain of Béarn, requesting him to go to Niagara, in order

[1] He was assisted by Capt. Germain of the Queen's regiment, and by Adj. Joannes of the Languedoc. Their work was a square fort with four bastions, which was defended by a redoubt situated on a hill which commands the work. — *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 414. — Ed.

to put these works in the best possible condition. He therefore left with the regiment of Guienne, which had been destined to cover this post, menaced by the English at Oswego. They would have found it easy to make themselves its masters, as sixty Canadians formed the sole garrison of this rotten stockade, with no defensive works.[1]

The good of the service determined M. Pouchot to undertake this commission. The regiment of Guienne left on the 5th of October, but bad weather kept them on the way until the 28th. Upon his arrival, M. Pouchot sought to put the place in a condition against insult, and sent his plan of fortification to M. de Vaudreuil. The regiment of Guienne left on the 16th of November to return to Canada, and M. du Plessis, first captain of the colony, about this time arrived there to take command. There was left three piquets of Guienne, and as many more colonial troops or Canadians. It was at once necessary to build houses for these troops in the Canadian manner, that is, huts made of round logs of oak notched into each other at the corners. In this wooded country, houses of this kind are quickly constructed. They have a chimney in the middle, some windows and a plank roof. The chimney is made by four poles placed in the form of a truncated pyramid, open from the bottom to a height

[1] The French established a trading post at Niagara in 1678. In 1687, replaced this palisaded work by a small fort with four bastions. It was subsequently abandoned for several years. — Ed.

of three feet on the four sides, above which is a kind of basket work, plastered with mud. They take rushes, marsh grass or straw, which they roll in diluted clay and drive in between the horizontal logs from top to bottom, and then plaster the whole. This kind of work might serve for European armies in wooded countries, and form barracks sufficient for their want, as these quarters may be built as large as necessary, and all the soldiers could work in constructing them, if they had some one to show them how.

They labored through the winter on the new fort, as industriously as possible. The new engineer was much opposed by the officers of his detachment, who having no more knowledge of his business than of their own, laughed with disdain at an undertaking which according to their ideas could not be finished within four or five years, with double the number of troops, — but in this they were mistaken.[1]

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[1] M. Vaudreuil in writing to France under date of Feb. 2, 1756, says in speaking of Niagara:

" * * * To accelerate the works which M. Pouchot has deemed necessary, in order to put that place in a state of defence, I made the battalion of Guyenne sojourn there as long as the season admitted. I ordered four platoons of that battalion to winter there. These added to the colonial troops and the Canadians, compose a force of about three hundred men who are continually at work. I cannot express my praise of M. Pouchot's zeal and activity. I have reason to hope that he will carry out his work to perfection. Niagara will then be in a condition to resist the enemy. Its position is, besides, very advantageous. But I shall be obliged to send considerable forces and provisions there at the opening of the navigation, for I may be well persuaded that the enemy will undertake its siege very early, as he is making preparations for it a long time, and his

1756. The defeat of M. Dieskau was perhaps a happy event for Canada, because the home government, relying upon the strength of the country would have neglected it, and it would not have been in condition to resist the enterprises of its enemies. Upon

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army may arrive at Chouaguen, when I shall dispatch the one I intend to oppose it, inasmuch as the river of Orange is navigable a month earlier than ours."

De Vaudreuil in writing June 8, 1756, again commends this engineer in the strongest terms. In writing to the Count d'Argenson he says: "I must render you the best report in particular of M. Pouchot, captain in the Béarn regiment. He perfectly understands all the departments of engineering. He was so good as to take on himself the direction of the fortifications I proposed constructing at Niagara, and applied himself so closely thereto, from the time of the unfortunate issue of the Baron Dieskau's campaign until now, that he has almost entirely superintended them to their completion, and that fort which was abandoned, and beyond making the smallest resistance, is now a place of considerable importance, in consequence of the regularity, solidity and utility of its works. I add, my lord, that M. Pouchot has surmounted all obstacles, and that his zeal has suggested resources to accelerate his labors; he has even accomplished all with an economy whereat I cannot but feel agreeably surprised. He is besides much experienced in all that concerns the service, and every reason will engage me to unite with the Marquis de Montcalm, in requesting you to procure for him such favors from the king as he will deserve." — *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 391, 411.

De Vaudreuil in again writing August 20th, says of him: "He is among the best officers known among the troops of the line. He rendered himself very useful, and particularly distinguished himself at Chouaguen. You will permit me my lord, in another dispatch, to beg of you to procure for him the favors I shall have the honor to ask of you in justice to him." — *Ib.* 74.

The secretary of the War department to whom these letters were addressed, replied: "I have not forgotten the favorable testimony you bear of Captain Pouchot of the Regiment of Guyenne [Béarn,] to whom you have entrusted the direction of the fortifications of Fort Niagara, and he will find some marks of his majesty's satisfaction in the list of favors which will reach M. de Montcalm." — *Ib.*, 535. — Ed.

the representation of M. de Vaudreuil, it was determined to send in the spring of 1756, M. de Montcalm,[1] field marshal, M. de Lévis[2] a brigadier, M. de Bourlamaque[3] a colonel, Descombles[4] and Des Androins, two engineers, with the two battalions of Sarre and Royal-Roussillon, together with provisions, munitions and merchandise.

Before relating the operations of this campaign, we will give a sketch of the administration of the king's magazines, which had been an object of the most ruinous perversion, and had occasioned a suit against the intendant. We should at the outset notice that the storekeeper rendered his accounts directly to the intendant, so that we might regard the magazine as that of a merchant, of which his factor is required to give an account.

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[1] Louis Joseph Marquis de Montcalm de Saint Veron, was born in 1712, entered the service at the age of fourteen, and in 1745 rose to the rank of colonel. In 1756 he was appointed major general, and in 1758 lieutenant general. He fell mortally wounded at Quebec, Sept. 13, 1759. His commission upon leaving France for Canada, is given in *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 394. He was buried on the premises of the Ursuline Convent at Quebec.—*Servantes de Dieu en Canada*, p. 28.—Ed.

[2] Since, the Marquis de Lévis, chevalier of the king's orders, lieutenant general of his armies, governor of the province of Artois, &c. —*Note in Original.*

After the publication of the volume of M. Pouchot, the Chevalier de Lévis was created Marshal of France in 1783, and a Duke in 1784. He died at Arras in 1787, and a monument was voted to be erected in the Cathedral at that place. During the revolution, both church and monument were destroyed. — *Biog. Universelle.* — Ed.

[3] Upon the peace, field marshal; then governor of Gaudeloupe, where he died. — *Note in Original.*

[4] Subsequently killed in the seige of Oswego. — Ed.

Upon property being sent to the magazines, it must be verified as to its condition, in the presence of the commandant, and a report is prepared, stating the *deficiency* and waste, which is sent, signed by the commandant and storekeeper to the intendant.

Everything delivered from the magazine, whether provisions or equipage due to the troops, is issued upon the order of the commandant, for each particular article. The order always begins with these words: "I pray the storekeeper, &c." with as much politeness as in the marine service. When the commandant wishes to deliver provisions, munitions or equipage to the Indians for the king's service, as when they are going to war, or when they come to hold a treaty, or when new tribes come to negotiate, — it is done upon his order. He has the power when the supply is small, to arrest the delivery, and use it according to the good of the service.

At many posts, if the articles needed in the service are wanting, the commandant has power to purchase through his storekeeper, upon his order, which being signed by the governor of the country, is paid by the intendant.

Every kind of supplies not being found for issue in the public magazines, it was allowed to officers, soldiers and militia, to purchase whatever was necessary or convenient, either for ready money, or with orders upon whatever was due them for services, or their pay.

As it was equally profitable to those furnishing sup-

plies, and to the storekeepers to issue as much as possible, they spared nothing of what they had. If to this we add goods sold for the Indian trade, and we may easily see how the magazines would be soon empty.

Whenever provisions were in excess, purchases were not allowed, which led to a large false consumption. The more they furnished, the more the stewards who made the purchases would gain, so they bought on every hand, good or bad, provided that the quantity would fill the magazines. At length there was appointed a commissary, who drew his supplies from France, paying the best of prices, as the more he purchased, the greater were their profits. He allowed of a re-sale, which was only to his profit, although he was censured for having delivered in excess. All these goods were increased to an excessive rate, on account of captures by the English, although still obliged to be furnished, and it took everything that could be found in the country to pay these high prices. Although the country was partly provisioned, the ships must still supply from France, the assortments of merchandise for trade, which were sold to the king, at the current prices of the country. Since the supply was regulated by the king, and could only be furnished at the posts at these prices, they augmented the nominal consumption, to indemnify themselves for the difference of prices. For instance: if a bottle of brandy should be furnished at three livres, they would pre-

sent an account for four bottles, to get back the price paid, and so of other articles, which led to bills for a most prodigious amount of consumption, and a bottle of brandy would amount to a hundred crowns. From this we may judge of other items.

Individuals who traded among themselves, with the profits of the goods that had been sold from the magazines, would sell again at advanced prices to the same storekeeper, upon the order of the commandant to purchase, since this had become an absolute necessity to the service.

We may well imagine that this speculation would increase, as the country felt itself pressed by the English, and impoverished by the withdrawal of its stores by individuals, under the pretext that some ships might still arrive during the summer from France, the intendant made no purchases till the close of the season, when everything was consumed, and those who had goods to sell wished to get a very high price, and as they refused to yield, they sold everything at the price they asked. The king believed he had a magazine of sixty thousand livres worth of merchandize, while he in reality did not have ten thousand, for which he had paid very dearly. The surplus was to him a clear loss, because it had been resold to the French and Canadians at a great bargain, to the profit of those who had made the sale, and who covered up everything with their reports. The consequence was, that the goods being increased in price, the French

officers and soldiers who should, according to the arrangement made in France, have found at a moderate price, whatever was necessary for their use, could get nothing from the magazines, and were obliged to buy at a great price, the very articles that had been sent from France for their use.[1]

Such was the origin of the disorders that had come to prevail in this part of the administration. We will now return to the military operations. On the first days of February, M. Pouchot sent from Niagara a Memoir upon Oswego, in which he showed the way of disturbing the English at that post, and of their retarding their operations. On the 25th, a deputation of the Five Nations arrived at Niagara, composed of Cayugas and Senecas to the number of one hundred and twelve persons, men, women and children. These Indians who had taken up the hatchet against us,

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[1] The exports of Canada in 1753, amounted to £68,000, and the imports to £208,000, of which the greater part was on government account. In 1755, the colony exported 1,515,730 livres, and exported 5,203,272 livres. It was in view of this expense that Voltaire wrote as follows:

"Canada costs much, and returns but little. If a tenth part of the money swallowed up by this colony had been spent in improving the waste lands in France, the gain would have been much greater; but they wished to keep up Canada, and have lost a hundred years of trouble with all the money that has been lavished upon it without returns. To crown the misfortune, they have detected many who had been employed in the king's name in that unhappy colony, in the most abominable career of plunder."

These irregularities are forcibly described by the author of the *Memoires sur le Canada*, published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec. — Ed.

came to talk of peace. They sent their parole to the general.[1]

In March, the artillery taken in Braddock's affair, arrived at Niagara. At the close of the same month, a party of French, Canadians and Indians, to the number of three hundred men, under M. de Lery, who had left Montreal, arrived at the portage to Oswego, where the English had begun two forts, Stenvox and Breuil.[2] They attacked and took the latter which was the smallest. They captured sixty men, but the English suffered a greater loss in the destruction of their provisions destined for Oswego,[3] and which prevented them from appearing as early in force at that place as they had intended.[4]

On the 7th of May, two parties of Indians, Sauteurs and Missisakes, the first of twenty-five, the other of twenty-one men, left Niagara for Oswego. On the

[1] A manner of expression used in this country by the Indians. — *Note in Original.*

[2] Stanwix and Bull. Fort Stanwix was, however, not yet erected. — Ed.

[3] The explosion of a powder magazine, happening soon after the fort was taken, prevented the French from using the provisions and munitions which they found. — *Note in Original.* — *Memoires sur le Canada*, 40. — Ed.

[4] Fort Bull on Wood Creek, was attacked by Lieut. de Lery of the colonial troops on the morning of March 27, 1756, with a force of 265 men, who had come through the woods from Montreal, and fell upon the fort by surprise. The garrison consisted of sixty men, and made but a short resistance, when the gates were battered down and the whole were massacred excepting one woman and a few soldiers. It is said that but five souls escaped. The invaders returned as they came, by the way of Black River. — *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, i, 509; *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 403; *Eastman's Narrative of Captivity.* — Ed.

15th, they returned with twelve scalps and three English prisoners — ship carpenters who were working upon some vessels near the fort.

These early successes determined the Five Nations in our favor, and incited the Indians of the upper country, who came, one after another to Niagara to form war parties. It was necessary to feed and equip them for the war. This cheerful prospect of a campaign was balanced by prospects less agreeable. On the 30th of May, M. Pouchot wrote from Niagara to M. de Vaudreuil as follows:

"Our articles of subsistence must be well looked after, as you may judge, sir, for there remains of our whole stock not forty quarters of meal. We are obliged to issue provisions and equipments to the Indians. They have traded bread with the French and Indians, which has so dangerous a tendency, that it is mere chance that we are not now all dead with hunger, or forced to abandon this post." These miseries had been the same through the war, and M. Pouchot after having given a statement of his labors to M. Vaudreuil continued as follows:

"Endeavor, sir, to compel those who are charged with furnishing provisions, to be exact in rendering faithful accounts, and in sending them in good condition. Make those who carry them responsible, for everything that arrives here, is more or less damaged. One of the greatest pieces of economy which could be attained in this country, would be to avoid this evil.

They give their charge no attention, and nothing is more true, than that the provisions arriving here can hardly sustain life, and they are but very little at that."

In the month of May, M. de Montcalm sent M. de Lévis with the Queen's battalion, and those of Languedoc and Royal-Roussillon, a corps of colonial troops, and another of Canadians, to form a camp of observation at Carillon.

M. de Montcalm, accompanied by M. de Bourlamaque and two engineers, went up to Frontenac with the regiment of Sarres, Guienne and Béarn, of whom fifteen hundred men had wintered at that post. He at once began preparations for the siege of Oswego,[1] and placed a body of five hundred Canadians and Indians under the orders of M. de Villiers upon the peninsula of the Bay of Niaouré,[2] to observe the move-

[1] A few months before the attack upon Oswego, a new fort was begun west of the old one on the west side of the river. It was one hundred and seventy feet square. The rampart was of earth and stone, twenty feet thick and twelve high, besides the parapet. It was surrounded by a ditch fourteen feet wide and ten deep, and had barracks for two hundred men. — *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxvi, 6.

A very full journal of the siege of Oswego is given in *N. Y. Col. Hist.* x, 440, as transmitted by M. de Montcalm. — Ed.

[2] An intimate acquaintance with these shores, leads us to believe that the place where de Villiers took post, was on what is now known as Six Town Point, in Henderson, Jefferson Co., N. Y. The author of the *Memoires sur le Canada*, published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, says: "Meanwhile M. de Vaudreuil, not content with having destroyed the enemy's munitions, and thus disconcerting his projects upon the lake, and the upper posts, resolved to capture Oswego, with the view of tranquilizing the colony in that quarter, and thus resting more easily on the defensive while awaiting succors from France. He sent in that direction, a detachment of eight hun-

ments of the enemy. He then sent about the 15th of June, the regiment of Béarn to Niagara, where it arrived on the 22d. Through the activity of M. Pouchot, the works of this place were nearly finished on the 22d of July, and he left to return to Frontenac.

On the 5th of August, M. de. Montcalm left with the Sarre and Guienne to encamp at the Bay of Niaouré,[1] and on the 7th the regiment of Béarn followed with the artillery. M. de Rigaud and M. de Villiers went to take position in a creek, a quarter of a league from Oswego, with five hundred Canadians and Indians, and on the 9th, M. de Montcalm embarked with the Sarre and Guienne to join them.

The regiment of Béarn left on the 10th, with the artillery, and on the 12th arrived at the camp before

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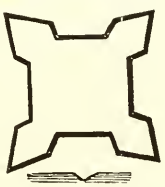
dred men, to hold the enemy in check, and observe his movements. It was led by S. de Villiers, captain of the marine, brother of M. de Jumonville, a brave and prudent officer, capable of executing the most perilous enterprises, and one who had on all occasions evinced proofs of intrepidity. This officer went to encamp near a river named Au Sables, where he built a little fort of upright timbers at the place where this river falls into Lake Ontario. Its access was difficult and hidden from view by the bushes around, so that they might in future depend upon it while there employed. He often appeared before the enemy, pillaged their munitions and obliged them to take great precautions in sending provisions to their troops at Oswego." P. 74.



The traces of a stockade supposed to be that here described, may still be seen. The cut here given is from a sketch made on the spot in 1853. The outlines can be traced only by a depression representing the ditch as shown in the section on the lower margin of the cut. — *Hough's Hist. Jefferson Co.*, p. 156. — Ed.

[1] Point Peninsula, Jefferson Co., N. Y. — Ed.

Oswego. M. Descombles an old engineer, was killed by an Indian of his escort who had placed himself close to the fort to see that none of the English came out, and who mistook his dress.[1]

This event somewhat depressed M. de Montcalm, because he had left only a young engineer, who had merit, but was a novice in these parts, having never been in war.[2] The general then employed M. Pouchot, who had rejoined his regiment, to undertake this service. Having accepted, he proceeded to reconnoitre Fort Ontario, and upon his return, M. de Montcalm showed him some letters from the place which he had intercepted. Although there were no fascines in camp, and only a hundred gabions, M. Pouchot induced the general to open trenches the same evening, to profit by the surprise of the enemy. Orders were given to labor with the greatest diligence upon the gabions and saucissons, with every hand that was able.

On the night of the 12-13, at half past eleven o'clock in the evening, M. Pouchot caused a parallel to be opened, at sixty geometrical paces from Fort Ontario, about ninety toises long, with an abattis of very large trees, nearly all of which were to be cut. It was however finished by daybreak. On the thir-

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[1] This accident happened at 3 o'clock in the morning, by the hand of Ochik, a Neppisseng Indian, who had escorted him out. — Ed.

[2] The surviving engineer was sieur Desandroins, who was superceded by M. Pouchot on the 12th. — *Montcalm's Journal; N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 442, 465. — Ed.

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English Plan of the Forts ONTARIO & OSWEGO with part of the River Onondago and Lake Ontario 1756.

From Gentleman's Magazine 1757

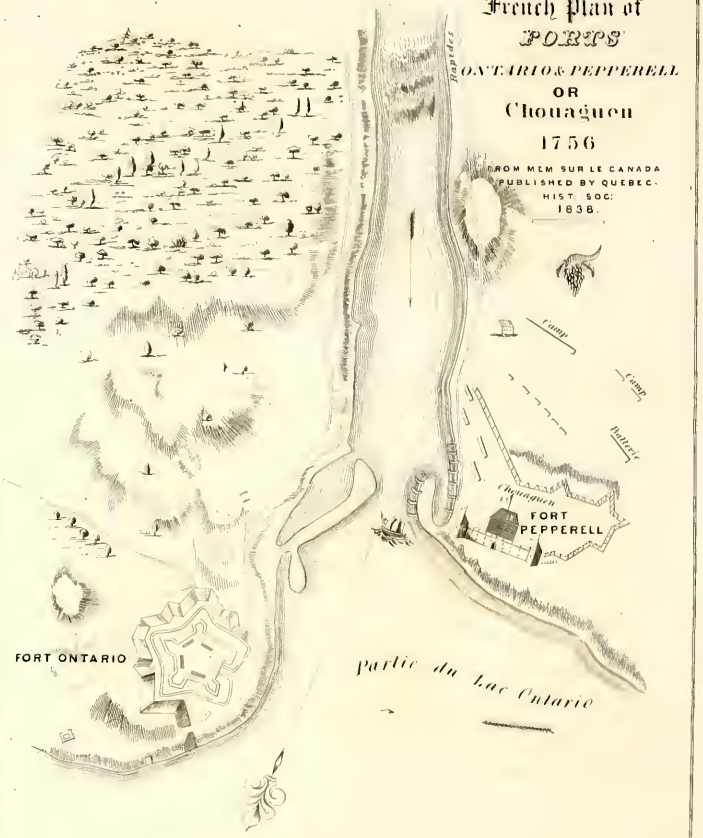
REFERENCE TO THE PLAN

A Lake Ontario. B Fort Ontario.
C A small harbour for whale boats
D Harbour for Ships
E Ship carpenters houses.
F Fort Oswego G Oswego Town
H A new guard room
I Oswego riff K A large hill
L An Island
M A small Island — Here Col Broadstreet beat off 40 French with six men only This was the First skirmish July 3rd 1756
N A large swamp here they had the second skirmish where Broadstreet first with 300 men beat off 200 and after with 400 routed 1000
O An Island P A carrying place
Q The great Oswego Falls
S Onondoac River.

Places	Distance from Oswego
Ontario Fort	2 English Miles
Oswego Riff	3 ditto.
Whale boat harbour	14 ditto.
Hill K	43 ditto.
Island L	8 ditto.
Island M	9 ditto.
Swamp N	10½ ditto.
Island O	11 ditto.
Oswego Falls	13 ditto.
Carrying place	12¾ ditto.

French Plan of FORTS ONTARIO & PEPPERELL OR Chouaguen 1756

FROM MEM SUR LE CANADA PUBLISHED BY QUEBEC HIST SOC: 1838.



FORT ONTARIO
FORT PEPPERELL

teenth they worked in throwing up batteries, and at three in the afternoon, the enemy surprised to see us so near them, abandoned the fort which they could have held but a little longer, as the artillery had been advantageously posted. They retired in the greatest disorder across the river into the old fort.[1]

As soon as they had passed, they began an active fire upon the abandoned fort, which was continued till night, thinking thereby to greatly trouble us. M. de Bourlamaque was this day slightly wounded in his cheek. We occupied ourselves during the night, in digging a long bayou to go to the river bank, and established a battery for twenty pieces in barbette, but mounted only eight. This battery directed by M. Mercier, had been placed to act favorably against the wings of the fort, and would have escaped the inconvenience that followed, had not a part of the operation been neglected. But the ground having been softened during the night by an abundant rain, and the precaution not having been taken to build platforms, the wheels of the carriages were forced into the ground, and rendered the service of the guns very difficult. There were no shelters, and munitions were there wanted, so that we were obliged to place men at intervals, to carry them — one powder, another the ball, and

[1] The detachment west of the river consisted of a part of Col. Pepperell's regiment. Before abandoning their post, they spiked their guns and destroyed their ammunition and provisions. The retreat was effected by the aid of whale boats sent by Col. Mercer for that purpose. — *Mante*, p. 69. — Ed.

another the ramrod at each time of firing — and this across a space enfiladed by thirty pieces of cannon.

We may judge of the propriety of this arrangement, and M. Pouchot had forewarned M. de Montcalm of this inconvenience. He replied that he was obliged to defer to the opinions of an artillery officer. M. Pouchot sought to obviate the difficulty, by a bayou leading to the battery.

M. Pouchot thinking that the enemy could not hold out more than twenty-four hours longer, saw in what a bad position they would be placed in the rear of their entrenchments if a body of troops were on the other side of the river. M. de Montcalm therefore ordered M. de Rigaud, with a party of Canadians and Indians, to execute this movement at day break, by crossing the ford above, without being perceived by the enemy.[1]

When the morning dawned, they opened a brisk fire upon our battery, which although well served, could not fire more than four pieces. At 9 o'clock M. de Montcalm wished to send M. de Bougainville, to summon the enemy to surrender, but M. Pouchot induced the general not to do so, lest they should gain rest by the delay. Half an hour later, they beat

[1] Col. Mercer having learned that a detachment had been sent to ford the river above, ordered Col. Schuyler with five hundred men to dispute the passage, but had scarcely given these orders, when, going into the fort to give some others equally necessary, he was killed by a cannon shot. Lieut. Col. Littlehales succeeded to the command.— *Mante*, p. 70.— Ed.

the chamade, and the garrison, composed of the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, the Jersey militia, and the employees of the fort to the number of 2,400 men, surrendered themselves as prisoners of war.[1]

[1] The terms submitted by the French commander were as follows:

"The Marquis de Montcalm, army and field marshal, commander in chief of his most Christian Majesty's troops, is ready to receive a capitulation upon honorable conditions, surrendering to him all the forts: He requires them to be prisoners of war: They shall be shown all the regard the politest of nations can show. I send my aid-de-camp on my part, viz: Mons. de Bougainville, captain of dragoons; they need only send the capitulation to be signed; I require an answer by noon. I have kept Mr. Drake for an hostage.

MONTCALM.

August 14, 1756."

The following terms were agreed upon:

TERMS OF CAPITULATION OF OSWEGO.

"*Art.* 1. It has been agreed that the English Troops shall surrender themselves prisoners of war: that the officers and soldiers shall be allowed to preserve their effects: That the said forts shall be given up at two o'clock in the afternoon, with generally all the effects, munitions of war, provisions, barks, rigging and other property in general whatsoever, without any injury being done thereto by their troops.

Art. 2. That all their arms shall be deposited in a store at the moment one-half the troops are embarked to cross the river; that a number of French troops are passed over by the returns to take possession of the fort, and that the remainder of the troops shall retire at the same time.

The flags and drums shall likewise be deposited in said store with the officers' arms.

A new inventory shall be made of the property in the stores, and of the artillery, powder, bullets, provisions, barks and rigging conformable to the returns made to me.

The officers shall in passing, each take away their effects with them.

These terms were signed at 11 o'clock A. M., on the 14th of August, 1756, by John Littlehales, lt. col. comd't, and by the Marquis de Montcalm, field marshal of the king's armies, and general of his troops in France."—*N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, i, 495; *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 474 — ED.

Col. Mercer having been killed about eight o'clock, the English regretted it greatly.

We found in the fort, a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, munitions of war, utensils, provisions and merchandize in abundance, with nine vessels of war, of which one carrying 18 guns was finished. The others were upon the stocks, and all their rigging was in the magazines.[1] All these effects were carefully collected, as not being in the place best for the king's service. We sent to Niagara a part of the flour and pork, of which that place had been scantily supplied

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[1] The effects found by the French at Oswego, not including the pillage, consisted of 7 brass cannon, of 19, 14 and 12 calibre; 8 iron guns of 9, 6, 5 and 3; 1 brass mortar 9½ inches; 13 others of 6 and 3 inches; 44 patereros; 23,000 lbs. of powder; 8,000 of lead in balls and shot; 2,950 bullets of diverse calibres; 150 bombs of 9, and 300 of 6 inches; 1,476 grenadoes; 730 grenadier's muskets; 340 grape shot, and 12 pair of iron wheels for naval carriages.

Of vessels they captured 1 snow of 18 guns; 1 brigantine of 16; 1 sloop of 10; one bateau of 10; 1 of 8, and 2 stone guns; 1 skiff mounted with 8 patereros and 1 skiff in the stocks burnt; 200 barges and bateaux.

Of provisions they found 704 bbls. of biscuit; 1,386 of beef and pork; 712 of flour, 11 of rice, and 7 of salt; 200 sacks of flour, 32 live oxen, 15 hogs, 3 boxes of silver, and the military chest containing £18,000, with a quantity of vegetables, liquors and wines.— *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, i, 496; *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 485, 530.

Notwithstanding the honorable pledges of Montcalm, it is said that twenty of the garrison were delivered up to the Indians, by way of atonement for the loss of their friends. Many of the garrison were plundered and murdered. All the sick in the hospital were scalped, and Lieut. De la Court was murdered as he lay wounded in his tent. It is stated on good authority that a hundred men fell victims after the surrender. Those who escaped this fate were sent to Montreal, and most of them were exchanged.— *Entick*, i, 452; *Monte*, 72; *Garreau*, iii, 67, 71. — Ed.

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the Channel at the Entr-
iver *very Narrow, and*
warp'd from the Lake.

Explanation.
1. *The River Onondaga.*
2. *The Lake Ontario.*

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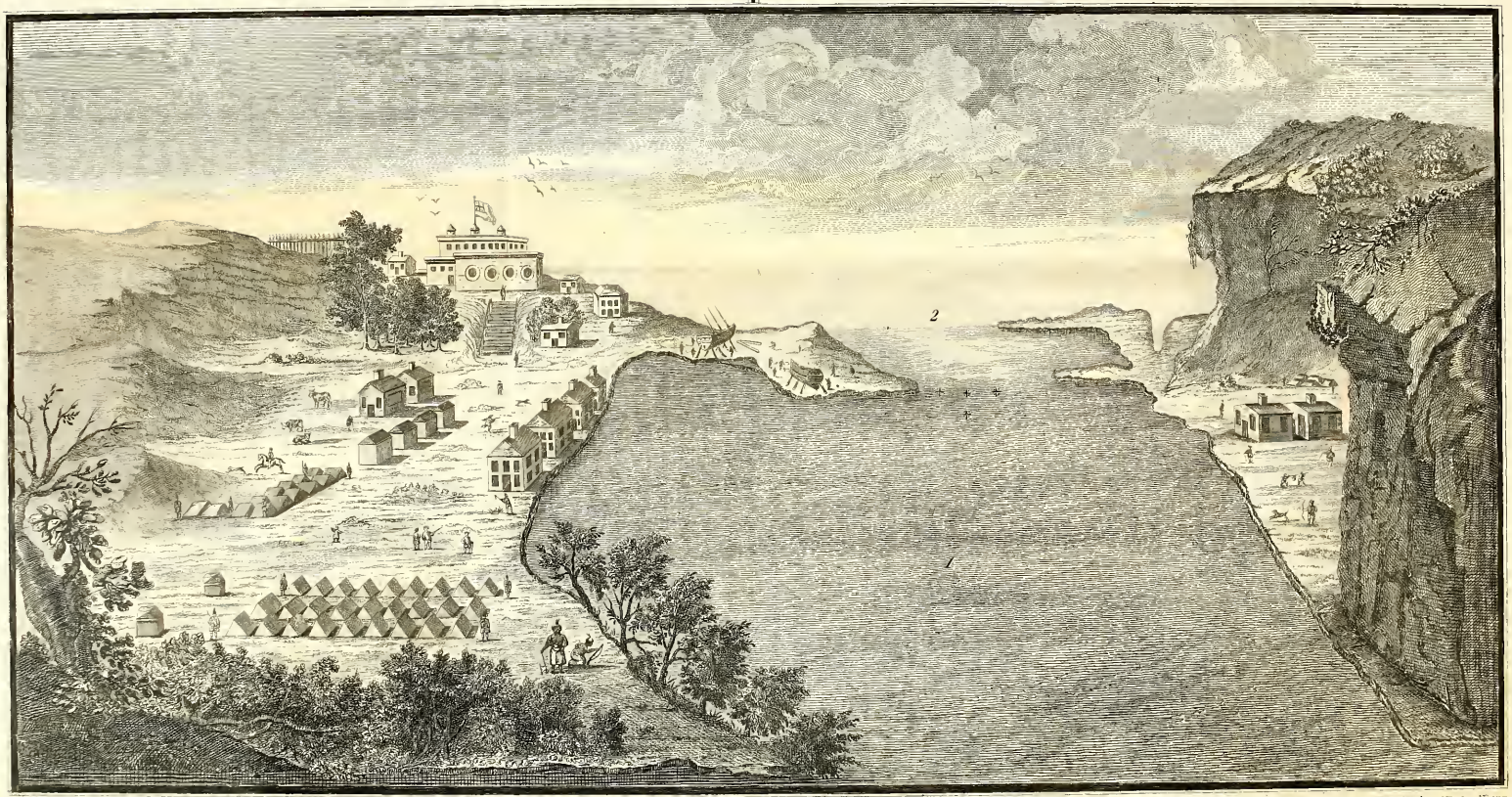
The SOUTH VIEW of OSWEGO on LAKE ONTARIO

General Shirley *in 1755 Strengthenid & inlurged, this* Fort *and erected two others, one Westward 170 Square with a Rampart of Earth & Stone. Another on the Opposite side of the Bason, 470 Yards distant from the* Old Fort. *This which is calld the* East Fort, *is built of Logs and the Wall is Surrounded by a Ditch. The Projection of the Rocks, renders the Channel at the Entrance into the* Onondaga River *very Narrow, and our Vessels are generally warpd from the Lake into the Bason.*

Explanation.
1. *The River Onondaga.*
2. *The Lake Ontario.*



Engraved for the New-York Mercury.

during nearly two years. The artillery taken to Frontenac, supplied that post, as well as Niagara, and several pieces were transported to Montreal. The implements which were very good, and in large quantity, passed into the hands of Sieur Mercier commandant of artillery, and reäppeared no more. The rigging which should have been reserved to form a marine armament, was taken by the stewards, and likewise proved of no further use to the service. All the refreshments were distributed to the Canadian officers and the employees, including a large quantity of tea. In short, there was left scarcely nothing for the king, except what was difficult to remove. A single instance will suffice to illustrate. M. Pouchot, being one of the first to enter the fort, found a very fine seine stretched along the ground, and wished to have it guarded and sent to Niagara, where he was commander, and where it would have been very useful, at a post where provisions were often scarce. It was promised very definitely, but it soon disappeared with the rest. M. Pouchot was much surprised in 1758, at seeing it at Carillon, employed in a fishery. It then belonged to the king, to whom this same commissary had sold it for 1,200 or 1,500 livres.

It would have been happy for the king, if he had also resold the implements. They would have been at least of better quality than those which M. Mercier, this chief of artillery, furnished the king to his own profit. These axes served only to ruin the forts of

Oswego, Chouegnen, and another called Fort Bull, distant a musket shot from the latter. This operation lasted from the 15th to the 20th, when the army returned to Montreal.[1]

The capture of Oswego produced the greatest effect upon all the Indian tribes, because the English had affected a decided superiority over us, and by their bragadocio on their power and their courage sought to make the Indians believe that we should not be able to resist them. The latter saw with what ease we took a post which had as many defenders as assailants, and that their brisk cannonade, of which they had never heard the like, did not disturb the French troops. We may say, that since this event,

[1] The first intelligence the English got of the capture of Oswego, was probably by the following letter: —

BURNET'S FIELD, *Aug.* 18*th*, 1756.

To Sir William Johnson.

SIR. Last night the two Indians you sent with a packett to Oswego, returned hither: Say near the Three Rivers that three soldiers coming from Oswego with letters who gave an account that the east and west fort were both beseig'd by the enemy; that they made a shift to steal out the garrison along the lake side; that the French were very numerous and told those Indians they had better go back, upon which they returned in company with the three men as far as the rift above the Three Rivers, where they left them with an Ondagah woman. They suppose they may have been last night at the Oneida carrying place. As these two Indians were returning, were overtaken by an Oneida, who had been at Oswego. Gave them a belt of wampum he rec'd from the French there, desiring the Five Nations to keep out way, as were beseiging Oswego, for they did not desire to hurt the Indians.

The kattle that were driving to Oswego are returning.

This moment arrived the soldiers mentioned above, who says Oswego, that is, all the forts there are taken, together with the vessels.

they have redoubled their attachment and friendship for the French, who in general they esteem more than the English, on account of their easy habits of life and their gayety; but the principal motive of their conduct came from this, that they knew very well the advantage of being on the strongest side, for, although some of them may have been very affectionate, they still loved Europeans according to their interest.

The news of the siege of Oswego being carried to

Col. Mercer is killed. For the particulars, I refer you to Capt. Richman who is going down, as I am teased with the Indians and cant write more at present. The packet shall send you by Capt. Richman.

I am yr very Dutifull
and obedt Servtt,
THO. BUTLER.

Sir William Johnson's MSS.

A letter from Lord Loudon written from Albany, Sept. 16, 1756, informs Sir William Johnson that the following disposition of troops would be made in the Mohawk Valley in view of the recent disaster at Oswego.

Gen. Webb was ordered back with the 44th Regt. and all the artillery to Albany, leaving the rest of his force at the carrying place.

Instead of building a fort at the German Flatts, 220 men were left to defend the fort at Herkimer's, and his house against scalping parties, Major Dobbs was stationed at the Little Carrying Place. The militia and Capt. Richmond's Co. at Canajoharie, Gate's Co. at Ft. Herkimer, Capt. Wraxal's Co. at Johnson's, and the rest of Col. Schuyler's Co. at Schenectady. The reader will find several distinct accounts of the seige and capture of Oswego in the *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 440, 453, 457, 461, 465, 466, &c.

The Abbé Picquet, of La Presentation, ever zealous for the success of the king's arms, accompanied the expedition, and erected a cross there, to which was affixed, *In hoc signo Vincunt;* and a pole on one side with the King's arms, and the inscription,—*Manibus date lilia plenis.*— *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 463.—ED.

Schenectady the English marched a body of troops[1] to endeavor to relieve the post, but learning at the portage that it had fallen, they obstructed with fallen trees the little river called Wood Creek, and sought to put Fort Stanwix in a state of defense, as they feared that the conquerors would penetrate to their homes.[2]

M. de Montcalm, wishing to remove to Carillon as soon as possible, the troops he had with him, engaged M. Pouchot to open a road from La Praire, to facilitate their march. The latter therefore went on the 28th, with a battalion of Béarn. It was necessary to cross a swamp a league and a half wide, covered two or three feet deep with water. At first sight he judged that he could use the remains of cedar and fir trees which had burned and fallen to the ground in this savanna. He caused the soldiers of this regiment to draw them together, and they labored three days with the greatest ardor, from morning till night, half-thigh deep in water, as did this officer likewise. They thus constructed a bridge, which being covered with rushes that grew on the spot, enabled the army and its trains to pass over dry.

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[1] The imbecile Colonel Webb had charge of this expedition sent to relieve Oswego. — Ed.

[2] This name is prematurely applied to this post, which was then called Fort Williams. Fort Stanwix was not begun until July 23, 1758, when Brigadier General John Stanwix of the royal army commenced its erection. The author was taken past this fort in 1759 and 1760, as a prisoner of war. The accompanying map, represents the topography of the surrounding district correctly, and the military positions of the seige by St. Leger twenty-one years later than this date. — Ed.

The campaign of Carillon, was spent in sending out several parties of Canadians and Indians, which upon the whole were to our advantage. The work upon the fort of Carillon was also pressed with vigor, and in November, the army returned to Canada for winter quarters.

M. Pouchot left on the 21st of September, with a piquet of the regiment of Béarn, to take command of Fort Niagara, and work in finishing it. M. de Blot, a captain, with a piquet of Guienne, and Captain M. de la Ferté, with a piquet of Sarre, were also dispatched with him to that post, where M. de Montcalm had at length persuaded M. de Vaudreuil to allow a Frenchman to command, to the great disgust of several colonial officers, and especially of the Intendant. The latter deemed M. Pouchot very little adapted to follow the views of the "company," whose manœuvres he wished to expose.

This officer departed with M. de Lignery, a colonial captain, who went to relieve M. Dumas, commandant at Fort Du Quesne, who had already relieved M. de Contre-Cœur, as not sufficiently intelligent for a difficult post. The company, on the contrary, found M. Dumas too sharp for them.

M. Pouchot endeavored to put Frontenac in a better condition for use in winter. On the 4th of October he left in boats with his troops for Niagara, and arrived on the 12th.

In October, some Loups came to make an alliance

with the French, and one after another, the Iroquois, and all the nations that had heretofore taken part with the English, began to waver, and to take up the hatchet against them. Through the good treatment they received from M. Pouchot, they determined positively for the war. He was well seconded by M. Chabert, a Canadian officer, commandant of a little fort at the portage, who enjoyed the greatest consideration among the Iroquois, and was regarded by them as a member of their nation. He was equally well known among other tribes, and he was continually useful, as he spoke their languages. At the time when he undertook the works upon the fort, they had begun to lay some regular foundations.

When M. de Montcalm went to Canada, he bore an order to retrench the officers in their extra supplies allowed by the usages of the marine, except two pots of brandy a month. They were reduced to two pounds of bread, and half a pound of pork to an officer. It is said that M. de Montcalm when in France had solicited this, because he thought their treatment too extravagant, but he was not long in repenting of this error. It would have been better to retrench a part of the equipment, which was of but little use to the officers. The first expense would not have been considerable, if it had been directed with economy by the superior French officers to meet the actual necessities of the case. This oversight betrayed a slender knowledge of the country, and turned over the French offi-

cers and troops to the discretion of the company of the administration and commissariat, making all the provisioning turns to their account; making the officers pay as much as they pleased, and increasing this at will, as we shall see in the end. The captures made from the English, although quite considerable, proved of but little benefit to the service for the reasons heretofore given. The magazines were poorly supplied, and the posts still less, so that it became necessary to ask supplies in abundance from France. M. de Montcalm also asked for a reïnforcement of troops, because the English had sent to America, after the siege of Mahon,[1] some Scotch troops and the Royal American regiment, of four battalions, which was raised for service in the colonies.

During the winter, several war parties were sent from Montreal upon Fort George, where they always took some prisoners and scalps. The Indian Ochik, who had had the misfortune to kill our engineer, distinguished himself there in these affairs, to gain his pardon. More than thirty-three English fell under his

[1] The fortress of Fort St. Philip, which commanded the entrance to the Port of Mahon, on the island of Minorca, was surrendered to the French by Lieut. Gen. Blakeney, on the 29th of June, 1756, after a brave defense. The garrison consisting of 2,963 men, were transported to Gibraltar. The British ministry spared no measures to fasten the blame and shame of this disaster upon Admiral Byng, who had been beaten by the French fleet. He was tried, sentenced to death and shot, on board his Majesty's ship Monarque, in Portsmouth harbor, on the 14th of March, 1757. — *Entick.* Minorca was restored to the English by the treaty of Paris, Feb. 10, 1763. — Ed.

stroke during the year.[1] In the month of March, a party of three to four hundred men,[2] under the orders of M. Rigaud, went to Fort George to surprise it, but being discovered, they contented themselves with burning a saw mill and some bateaux.[3] On the side of the

[1] "Aouschik, a Neppissing chief, who had, at the commencement of the siege of Choueguen, killed the unfortunate Descombles, then rose, his looks, his gesture and expression denoting furious anguish. 'What need,' said he, 'of councils, deliberations, proposals, when action is needed? I hate the Englishman. I thirst for his blood. I am going to bathe in it,' — and chanted his war song at the same time." — *Account of a Treaty; N. Y. Col Hist.*, x, 560. — Ed.

[2] Mante says this party consisted of twelve hundred. They made four separate attacks, but were repulsed, after burning several store houses, all the huts of the Rangers, and a sloop on the stocks, p. 84. A full account is given in *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 544, 548. — Ed.

[3] To the number of one hundred and fifty, with four brigantines of ten to fourteen cannon, and two galleys, each of fifty oars, without reckoning much wood for construction. — *Note in Original.*

"Notwithstanding the scarcity which prevailed in Canada, hostilities did not cease during the winter, which was intensely cold. In January a detachment sent out from Fort William Henry was attacked near Carillon and destroyed. In the following month, General Montcalm formed a project of sending eight hundred and fifty men to surprise that fort and carry it by escalade. The governor deemed it necessary to increase this detachment to fifteen hundred men, of whom eight hundred were Canadians, four hundred and fifty regulars, and three hundred Indians, and gave its command to M. de Rigaud, to the great discontent of the officers and troops, and of Montcalm himself, who wished it conferred upon M. de Bourlamarque. This body marched on the 23d of February, crossed lakes Champlain and St. Sacrament, traveled sixty leagues on snow shoes, drawing their provisions on sledges, and sleeping on the snow in bear skins or under a simple tent. On the 18th of March, they arrived near William Henry, but having been discovered, M de Rigaud thought it impossible to carry it by assault, but resolved however to destroy all he could outside of the works, which was done under the fire of the fort, but with little loss, on the nights of the 18th to the 22d. Three hundred and fifty bateaux, four brigantines of ten to fourteen guns, all

enemy, Volf,[1] a German officer came to burn a vessel upon the stocks near Fort Niagara. From this post also, several parties were dispatched during the winter.

M. Pouchot having gained over all the Iroquois nations and the Loups of upper Pennsylvania, they often came to the fort with scalps or prisoners.[2]

At the close of autumn, a party of thirteen English and Catawbas, from Virginia, came to near Fort Du

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the mills, magazines, and houses which were palisaded became a prey to the flames. The garrison were surrounded, so to speak, by a sea of fire during four days, yet ventured to make no sortie, or opposition to the devastations of the French, who, in the end, left nothing but the naked structure of the fort." — *Garneau's Hist.*, iii, 86.

Pierre Franciers Rigaud de Vaudreuil, who led this expedition, was a brother of the governor. — Ed.

[1] It is thus in the original, but probably an error, as Wolfe was in the French service, and the event is spoken of by M. de Montcalm in writing to Count d' Argenson, April 26, 1757, as having occurred under the walls of Fort George, in connection with Rigaud's expedition against that fort. He says:

"Sieur Wolfs, a second lieutenant after the affair of Bentheim, whom Baron de Diéskau brought with him last year, undertook, with the assistance of twenty of our soldiers, to burn a sloop pierced for sixteen guns, which it was deemed proper not to touch, as it was within fifteen paces of the fort, and under the protection of its cannon. He effected his purpose with the loss of two men and three wounded." — *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 549, 572. — Ed.

[2] General Montcalm, in writing to the Count d'Argenson, Minister of War, April 24, 1757, says:

"All the news from Detroit, Forts Du Quesne and Niagara, assure us of the dispositions of the Indians of the upper countries, which is principally owing to the fall of Choueguen. Captain Pouchot, of the regiment of Béarn, who commands at Niagara, is wonderfully liked by the Indians, and conducts himself much to the satisfaction of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who has made considerable difficulty in granting that command to an officer of the troops of the line." — *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 548. — Ed.

Quesne, and scalped three Chaouanons. M. de Ligneery caused them to be pursued by the French and Indians, who killed three and took two prisoners.[1] Rocheblave, a colonial cadet, who was coming from Fort Cumberland, met two of them and took them prisoners. One was an Englishman, who had a scalp taken in the Indian fashion, and this was the common practice of these partisans, they ought surely not to reproach the French, for the disguise under which they deemed themselves more formidable.

1757. In January, the Iroquois and the Loups or Chaouanons of Theogen,[2] assembled in great numbers at Niagara for a grand council. The Loups returned to the Iroquois the *machicote*,[3] which they had sent them when they had retired from the maritime regions to live upon their frontiers. They announced that henceforth they wished to be men, and to fight against the English, of whom they had killed or captured from three to four hundred in the preceding campaign. They also assured them that they wished to form an alliance with the French, whom they had not formerly known, and advised them to hold the hand of their French father as they were resolved themselves to do.

In April, they were obliged to send four men and a

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[1] *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 548. — Ed.

[2] Tioga. — Ed.

[3] That is a petticoat, to indicate that they regarded them as women, and were excused from making war. — *Note in Original.*

sergeant from Presque Isle to Niagara from the want of provisions at that post. They came on foot.

There arrived soon after at Niagara, some Renands or Outagumis, living with the Loups and the Senecas, who since the war they had had with the French, had not frequented our ports. They came to the number of thirty, to assure the commandant that they also wished to hold the French by the hand, and that they had sent their young warriors with a war party of the Loups. We learned from them, that the English were building many bateaux upon the Susquehannah near Fort Shamokin.[1] These Indians added, that Johnson had sent belts by a Mohawk and an Onondaga, to the Senecas, and the Loups, for them to bury the hatchet of their father, and that they could no longer go out for their most pressing wants without fear of having their scalps taken. These nations replied, notwithstanding this, that their choice was made, and that their father, the French, had marked out for them a fine road.[2] In consequence of this, small parties of Indians and some French went out from almost every post, from Frontenac to Fort du Quesne, who desolated the frontiers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia,

[1] Fort Shamokin was at what is now Sunbury, Northumberland Co., Pa. It was called by the English, Fort Augusta.— *Penn. Archives*, xii, 329. — Ed.

[2] The various rumors that reached the Governor of Canada, with reference to the disposition of the Indians of Western New York are stated in the *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 388. — Ed.

from whence they brought off many scalps and prisoners, and obliged the inhabitants all along their frontiers, to abandon their homes, and build little forts at all the passes.[1]

On the 6th of May, an Iroquois Indian and an Englishman who was dwelling among them, came to Niagara, and told M. Pouchot that the king of France had been killed, and that the king of Prussia had

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[1] The following memorandum of intelligence found in the Johnson MSS. confirms the statement of the text with regard to the feeling of the Western Iroquois in favor of the French at this period:

"Information of Alexander M. Cluer of Pennsylvania Government, who has been among the Senecas at Chenussio for these six months past. He was an Indian trader, and falling in debt was afraid to return, so went among those Indians of Chenussio alias Senekas.

He says that he thinks most of the Indians living at Chenussio, will join the French, as also those Senecas dispersed in little towns to the southward and westward of it; that he had seen several English scalps in said castle which he judges were taken or brought from the Southern governments.

Jean Cour, with four French men came to Chenussio last October, where he remained for 20 days; was also at the Seneca castle called Gannyhsadagy, where he desired no English should be suffered to trade or build. If any came there he would have them knocked in the head, and be very angry with the Senecas. He says that Jean Cœur proposed building a fort at Chenussio in the spring, and believed they consented to it, as they are under some apprehensions of danger from the Wawighttenhook Indians.

In the beginning of the winter he says that seventy Delawares called at that castle in their way to Niagara, where they said they were going to get cloths, arms, &c., from their father. There was an Englishman accompanying them thither who on their return told the informant that the Delawares spoke thus to the French:

'Father we are now at war with ye English. When we first begun, we struck them with billets of wood, being very poor.' The French Comd't told them he knew it to be time, and now gave them a hatchet to strike them with, and desired them to tell any of the English who might ask them the reason of their striking them, it was

taken the queen of Hungary prisoner, although no vessel had yet arrived from France. The commandant thought this news so extraordinary that he sent it to M. de Vaudreuil. It proved that the king had been wounded, and that the queen of Poland had been arrested by the king of Prussia.

The commandants of all the upper posts, sent Indians of different nations to Montreal to join the

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because they, the English, did not keep their arms clean or in good order. The French officers clothed them all, and gave them besides 14 laced coats, arms and ammunition, and several of the arms were those taken at Oswego. He gave each man 150 rounds of powder and balls. There was a number of the Delawares came to Chenussio. As they were going last spring to Niagara, the Senecas spoke to them, and desired they would stay a few days until they called the chief man named Tayegheady from Gannyhsady — the old Seneca castle which they consented to. He arrived in three days. Then the Senecas advised the Delawares to return and not go to Niagara. They refused, and said they would not be stopt and added further 'We have been once women and ashamed to look down at our petticoats, but as you have taken off our petticoats and encouraged us to begin a quarrel with the English, we are determined never to submit again to that ignominious state so long as there is one of us alive, and it seems to us that you now want to throw all the blame on us and make peace, which we will not hearken to, but will go to our Father who will assist us, and protect us.'

My informant says that eight days before he left Chenussio w'ch is now ab't thirty-four days ago, a Delaware named Shamokin Peter who was then just come from Niagara, told this informant that it was talked of there and agreed upon, that all the Indians in the French interests from the north side of the lake were to join the French and come down to destroy the Mohawk country in the spring, and the Indians living on the South side of the Lakes, and those of Ohio, Delawares, we were to go against Fort Cumberland and the Southern Governments about the same time.

Further this informant saith not. Taken by me this 6th day of March, 1757.

Wm. Johnson."

army, but the small pox which raged in some places, led many to retrace their steps, as they dreaded this disease extremely. There, however, assembled 1,900 including those domiciled with us. Such a number was never before collected in Canada.

General Loudon, had at this time arrived from England. At Philadelphia he had held a great council to engage the Quakers to furnish supplies, but they refused, saying that they were not allowed to make war.

The Missisakes who were to go down to Montreal, assembled to the number of ninety at Toronto, where there was a garrison of ten men, although there was a large supply of goods, the trade of this post being in the hands of M. Varrin. The Indians formed a plan of murdering this little garrison, and of pillaging the fort. M. de Noyelle, who commanded there was notified by a French domestic among them, that they were only awaiting news from Detroit, to execute their design, and dispatched a canoe and two men to Niagara, a distance of thirty leagues, to solicit help. M. Pouchot at once sent M. de la Ferte, captain of Sarre, and M. de Pinsun, an officer of Béarn, with sixty-one men, each having a swivel gun in his bateau. They reached Toronto at four o'clock on the evening of the next day. They found the Indians in their huts near the fort and passing in front of them, saluted their camp with artillery and musket balls, but fired only into the air, as M. Pouchot had advised in his instruc-

tions. They then called a council of the Missisakes, who were greatly astonished at such an adventure, and at being discovered in the fort. They confessed every thing, and said they had no courage. They added that the same one had given them bad news, how that the French troops were coming to kill them, that we had made peace with the Flat-heads their enemies, that the English had beaten us, that we were concealing ourselves, and other stuff of this sort, but the only reason was, they felt themselves in force, and could get plenty of brandy for nothing. Without foreseeing the consequences, they had contrived this project.

We may judge from this plot, how much confidence we could place in these people. This nation was nevertheless the most devoted to the French, and served well and faithfully in the war. These Missisakes are more dangerous than the Iroquois, because they live by the chase alone. They all soon departed for Montreal, and behaved themselves very well during the campaign of Fort George. Their nation disowned these warriors and was greatly chagrined at this event.

Early in this year, the Cherokees, the Flat-Heads and the Catabas, asked to make peace with the nations allied with the French, and promised to strike the English, if they could be let alone. This some of them agreed to, but the Chicachas did not wish to enter into this treaty.

It would be too long, and too tedious, to give the details of the expeditions that were made.[1] We had about this time three Canadian officers taken or killed, their party of about a hundred Indians having abandoned them. Sieur Bellestre the younger, who was taken by the Cherokees, became a considerable chief among them, and finally gained them over to the interests of the French.

We will here relate a singular instance of presentiment. The mother of a war chief of the Missisakes named Techicabavoui, came to see M. Pouchot, on the 22d of June, and said: "Father I come to tell you that my son has struck a blow." He asked her "if some one of his troop had returned?" but she replied, "no; but that ten days before, she had felt her breasts spring up, and that since then she had felt nothing." This sign was to her not in the least equivocal, and she had always found it sure. In fact, on the 5th of July, Techicabavoui arrived at Niagara with five scalps, having had but one man wounded on his side.

On the 1st of July, there was held a great council at Niagara, at which the Iroquois informed by a fine belt, the Hurons, Ouias, Miamis and Outaouais, that they had taken up the hatchet for their father, and that they would not quit it again. These nations always distrusted the Iroquois, and loved them not. Each jealous of the superiority of the other, could

[1] The reader will find many of these details, in the *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 579, 580, 586, 588, &c. —Ed.

only regard the Five nations as the allies of the English. Their relations and intercourse were distant. M. Pouchot regaled them together with brandy, but with moderation.

On the next day, the Ouias replied to the Iroquois by the same belt, but covered with vermillion, which was an invitation to war. They advised them to follow the will of their father, and not to listen to bad words; that they had been formerly deceived by following the Hurons, who as well as the Iroquois sometimes made fine promises without being able to execute them, and that by this belt they invited them to bring to their father at Niagara, this bad meat that they loved so well. By this they meant English prisoners.

To the Hurons they said: "You have courage, the Jesuits have given it to you. You pray and go to mass. We advise you to make a good use of your courage, and to follow the will of our father,[1] as we do, although we have not courage.[2]

The Kickapous and Mascontens, joined them to go down to Montreal. These several tribes left their women and children at Niagara to the number of one hundred and fifty, who staid till their return. Meanwhile there arrived scarcely any merchandise or brandy, which made the Indians sad. All the posts were drained by the great amount of equipments which it was necessary to issue to the warriors, and by

[1] Meaning the governor of Canada or the king. — *Note in Original.*

[2] They meant by this that they were not Christians. — *Ib.*

the presents which they had to make the Indians who came to councils, and then often returned in numbers.

The regiments left about the 20th of May to go up to Carillon, where they worked upon preparations for the siege of Fort George. M. de Montcalm arrived in June. The four French battalions, who made about sixteen hundred, the colonial troops about eight hundred, the Canadians nine hundred, and the Indians about nineteen hundred men, left on the first days of August, from the Falls, to go to Fort George. The Chevalier de Lévis at the head of a large detachment of Canadians and Indians, with some piquets of troops[1] marched by land to the right of the lake, so as to cover the landing of the army, which took passage in bateaux.

This officer arrived near Fort George, without meeting any obstacle except that of the country, which was very rugged. M. de Montcalm had, as the advance guard of the army by water, some Indians in canoes. In coming around a point, they perceived an English detachment of about one hundred and fifty men in bateaux[2] who were out for observation. The Indians, although in only bark canoes, attacked the nearest bateaux with blows of their hatchets and guns,

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[1] Six companies of Grenadiers, seven pickets of fifty men each, ten brigades of Canadians of four hundred each, another body of three hundred Canadians, and seven or eight hundred Indians. — *Mante*, p. 89. — Ed.

[2] The English accounts state that there were but two bateaux of which one was captured, and those in it were massacred. — *Mante*, p. 90. — Ed.

and threw themselves into the water to swim to them. The enemy were so thrown into disorder by this boldness, that about sixty or seventy men were drowned or captured. The others, who were a little to the rear, hastily regained the beach by the fort, without trying to help their comrades.

The English had formed an entrenched camp upon the height against which this fort was built. They there had placed about two thousand men, and from four to five hundred in the fort. On the evening of their arrival, they brought some batteries to bear upon the fort and the camp, and opened a kind of bayou which led to within one hundred and fifty toises of the fort. Our Indians and Canadians scattered themselves through the woods, upon the surrounding heights, to prevent the enemy from retreating. The latter finding themselves beaten in their intrenchments and the little fort, and seeing all their communications intercepted, surrendered on the 10th of August.[1] We

[1] Although the place held out only six days from the opening of the trenches, Col. Monro who commanded, defended it with bravery. General Webb at the head of an army of four thousand men, was not far off, but did not venture to assist him. — *Note in Original.*

The French arrived before the fort on the 3d of August, and it surrendered on the 9th. The first summons was made on the 4th, but in the reasonable hope of timely aid from Gen. Webb at Fort Edward, Col. Monro held out till resistance was further impossible. The imbecile Webb addressed a letter to Col. Monro, which Montcalm intercepted and then sent with a new demand for surrender. This letter informed him, that he did not think prudent to endeavor to relieve the garrison until he could be reinforced by the militia of the colonies, and advised a surrender upon the best terms that could be secured.

have seen at the time, the details of this siege. We will here mention a singular event to which the capitulation gave rise.

The terms agreed upon were as follows:

"1. The garrison of Fort William Henry, and the troops which are in the intrenched camp, shall, after being joined, march out with their arms, and the usual honors of war.

2. The gate of the fort shall be delivered up to the troops of his most Christian Majesty, and the intrenched camp, immediately on the departure of the British troops.

3. All the artillery, warlike stores, provisions, and in general, everything except the private effects of the officers and soldiers, shall, upon honor, be delivered up to his Most Christian Majesty. Provided always, that this article shall extend to the fort and the intrenchments, and their dependencies.

4. The garrison of the fort, the troops in the intrenchments, and the dependencies of both, shall not serve for the space of eighteen months, neither against his Most Christian Majesty nor his allies.

5. All the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women and savages, who have been made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North America, shall be delivered up in the space of three months at Carillon; and according to a receipt which shall be given by the French commanding officers to whom they shall be delivered, an equal number of the garrison of Fort William Henry shall be capacitated to serve, agreeable to the return given in by the English officers of the prisoners he has delivered.

6. An officer shall be left as an hostage till the return of the detachment, which shall be given for an escort to his Brittanic Majesty's troops.

7. All the sick and wounded that are not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, shall remain under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm, who will take proper care of them, and return them as soon as recovered.

8. There shall be issued provisions for the subsistence of the British troops for this day and to-morrow only.

9. The Marquis de Montcalm, being willing to show Colonel Monro and the garrison under his command, marks of esteem, on account of their honorable defence, gives them one piece of cannon, or six pounder.

Done in the trenches before Fort William Henry, 9th August, 1757.

GEORGE MONRO."

The English troops surrendered upon condition of not again serving within eighteen months, against his Christian Majesty and his allies, and of being sent to New England.[1] The French were to escort them half way across the portage of Fort St. George, and they accordingly started with their arms and baggage, marching in a column with the detachment of escort. The Indians whom curiosity had drawn around them, although strictly forbidden by M. de Montcalm not to molest them, still followed, scattering through the woods of the gorge. As soon as the escort left the English, some of the Indians tried to provoke them, rather to try their endurance than with any other design, and seized a part of their equipage. Seeing that the troops were embarrassed at what was done, and confused by their shouts, they began to strip them, perhaps incited to this by their French interpreters, who could not bear to see the English depart without their getting any such spoils, as they gained in Braddock's affair, and therefore encouraged the Indians to seize their equipage. They soon attacked them from every side, falling upon their equipage and stripping them. Those who resisted were killed, and the rest were taken prisoners, to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred. M. de Montcalm caused to release nearly

[1] There was another essential condition in this capitulation, which was prepared by M. de Bourgainville, for a general exchange of all prisoners taken by both parties in North America, since the beginning of the war. The garrison of Fort St. George was to be included in this exchange. — *Note in Original.*

all, but in a naked condition. The French officers and soldiers disrobed themselves to cover them, and then sent them away better guarded.[1]

[1] The exaggerated accounts of the massacre which followed this surrender, became intensified in horror as they spread, and the event left an indelible impression upon the minds of the colonists. Mante, the excellent English historian of this war, after relating the horrid details that were reported, says: "But the truth is, that as soon as the horrid scene commenced, M. de Montcalm exerted his utmost endeavors to put a stop to it. He laid bare his own bosom, and bade them kill their father, but spare the English, who were now under his protection; he even desired the English to defend themselves, and fire on the savages; but the English were seized with such an unaccountable stupor, that they submitted to the tomahawk without resistance; nor were M. de Montcalm's officers idle in the cause of humanity; many of them were wounded in endeavoring to rescue the persons of the English from the barbarous rage of the savages; and after they had got them into their tents, stood themselves as sentries over them for their preservation, till the fury of their savage allies had subsided. Incidents of this kind are almost always exaggerated in the recital; for the impressions of fear are in general too stubborn to yield to the clearest truths; and the prejudices of weak minds are not to be removed by the efforts of reason, which can operate on those alone who possess it. Hence it is, that the ear of credulity is often imposed on by the false representation of actions, which when related with impartiality, are many times found deserving the highest approbation.

* * * Though we cannot help shuddering at the recollection of this tragical event, yet candor requires that we should speak of it as we have done. Let not then, the generosity of the English, when it can take place consistent with truth, suffer an undeserved blot to remain and sully the reputation of a noble enemy, and an excellent soldier." — *Mante*, 95.

On the other hand, Carver who was present, and who escaped with great difficulty, gives the most minute account, and insists that the French officers neglected, and even refused during the massacre to take any of the measures stipulated in the surrender, or that either the French officers or troops gave any protection. The English surrendered to the number of two thousand, of whom fifteen hundred were killed or carried off by the savages. — *Carver's Travels*, p. 204. *Memoires sur le Canada*, 97. — Ed.

The position of these troops was doubtless very embarrassing, because they might readily believe that the French would attack them if they fought against the Indians. It is certain, that if they had shown firmness to those who first insulted them, they would have prevented the disaster which they could not attribute to the French. Upon their return to England, they made very loud complaints of this breach of faith, and were unwilling to observe the terms of the capitulation. It is demonstrated that without the protection given by the French, not one would have ever returned to that country. The English knew by experience that there was no mastering of these men, who behaved with the greatest bravery during the siege. Notwithstanding the cannonade, they approached in their way, close under the fort, and shot the sentinels and those who went to communicate from the fort to the entrenched camp. We destroyed Fort St. George, and took all its munitions[1] to Carillon, where the army passed the rest of the campaign in sending frequent parties upon those frontiers, and in laboring to perfect that fort. The Indians as they set out to return to their own country, carried with them a disease with which many died. Some of them seeing new graves, disinterred the dead to take their scalps, but unfortunately found that they had died of the small pox, and the infection was thus given to the

[1] These were very abundant, and we took 36,000 lbs. of powder, 23 cannons, 4 mortars, a howitzer and 17 swivel guns. — *Note in Original.*

Indians. The Poutéotamis nation, one of the bravest and most strongly attached to the French, almost entirely perished of this epidemic. We especially regretted some of the chiefs whom the French highly esteemed.

The two battalions of Berri, some engineers, artillery officers and recruits, arrived in July at Quebec, with fifteen vessels, laden as they said with provisions.

The capture of Fort George spread consternation through the province of New York. It is certain, that if M. de Montcalm had been able to take care of his Indians, and make them rely upon him, he might have ruined the whole of that country to its capital. They were then without any defence, but he contented himself in that quarter in forming parties of Canadians, and of our domesticated Indians.

In August, M. de Vaudreuil sent to Niagara some Abenakis, to make acquaintance with the Loups of Theaogen, who were almost the same nations. They took with them a Jesuit, their missionary. In their council, the Abenakis gave to the Loups a fine belt to engage them to hear and receive this father among them. The Loups replied, that they were pleased that the master of life had procured for them this occasion to see each other, and to be bound together; that they heard with pleasure their words, and that they would desire of the English some advantage which he proposed them. Lastly, they added, that

they would carry this belt to their nation, and would invite every body to hear the missionary, and in the spring they would return bringing a reply to the commandant. The Jesuit made them a speech upon the excellence of religion. One of them told him, that having been baptized, he was not ignorant, that to enjoy a happy life a person should know, that there once came into the world a little child, who having sinned in his life, at the age of thirty years was killed, and that they pierced his hands and feet. It was him who had charge of the life of the other world, and that nothing could be had without him. In regard to the Trinity, he designated the first person as a great chief, whom he compared to a king, the second, to a captain, and the third to the church, or prayer. These three persons had made men, as we find them upon earth, as red, black and white, and that they had destined one for praying, another for hunting, and another for war, but beyond that had left it to their will, without meddling with the affairs of the world. We have related this incident to show, how much most of the Indians can conceive of the grandeur and sublimity of our religion. This man appears to have been taught by some English missionary.

About this time, there were brought to Niagara, two men, who were like hermits, and were taken by a party of Outaouais, on the upper Monongahela. These two men had lived there about twenty years, with the

consent of the nations on the Ohio. They told M. Pouchot, that they followed the Romish ritual in their prayers, that they had three convents in Pennsylvania composed of 1,500 religious persons, and that their founder was Frisham Cotre-Chiété. They added that the English had tried to compel them to serve in the war, and that they had been mostly obliged to disperse in the woods. They said they were three brothers, that the English had formerly taken them from their solitude, and had kept them a long time in prison, to discover if they had any relations with the French or their Indians, but having found nothing they had let them go, except the third brother who was still held as a prisoner at Williamsburgh. These people appeared very simple and sincere, and were held in the greatest veneration by the Indians of these settlements.

The capture of Fort George confirmed all the posts in Canada. In September, M. Pouchot sent word to M. Vaudreuil that Fort Niagara and its buildings were finished, and its covered ways stockaded. As this post was the most important, as well from its location, as on account of the great number of Indians

[1] These were the Dumblers, a cenobite sect. See the account given by the Ablé Raynal, Hist. Pol. & Phil., v, 445, *et seq.*— *Note in Original.*

We are unable to verify the account given by the author of the dispersion of the Dunkers, or Dumblers. They settled at Ephrata, Lancaster Co., Pa., in 1730, where a remnant of this sect still exists. — *Rupp's Hist. Lancaster Co., chap.* vi. *Conyngham's Hist. of Dunkers.*— ED.

that traded there, and that came from all parts to hold treaties, and to make up war parties, it soon became the envy of all the Colonial officers. They were furthermore very jealous in seeing a Frenchman in command of a place, where they thought they could make money. M. de Vaudreuil could not resist their solicitations, and against the advice of M. de Montcalm who well knew the importance of the post, he removed M. Pouchot in October, and sent M. de Vassan, one of the first and most accredited captains of the colony to fill his place. M. Pouchot, who had only been attached to Niagara, to fulfil objects for the good of the service, and who never had thought of making any profit of any kind from the position, returned satisfied with his conduct, bringing with him the French piquets he had taken out. The Indian tribes were very discontented at seeing him leave, because they had for him a very high regard, on account of the good treatment they had received, as they were not accustomed to have officers so disinterested.

Two Iroquois warriors who returned from an expedition just as the vessel was about to leave, and lay at anchor in the offing waiting for the wind, plunged in to swim and find M. Pouchot, to express to him their keenest and tenderest grief at his departure. They wished to give him some belts to remain, but when he told them that the general had ordered him to go, they replied, "Our father then does not love

us, or he would not abandon us, by taking away a chief whom we all love." He represented to them, that the general needed him at Montreal, and that he had charged all the chiefs to use them as well as he had done, and that he would always hold them by the hand. They were scarcely persuaded to go ashore, as they declared they would never again revisit the fort.

M. de Vassan, by a kind of ill-judged economy, increased still further this discontent. Several war parties who were out on a campaign, found themselves coldly received on their return, and were dissatisfied with the presents, which they thought meagre. It is a great meanness among them for a chief to be avaricious. He must affect an air of great generosity or they will despise him. M. de Vassan, declaimed against the prodigality of M. Pouchot, whose conduct was sufficiently justified, as we shall see in the end.

The trade at the post of Niagara, was all made on the king's account, and had quadrupled during this campaign; as well because the Indians were drawn thither by curiosity, and reported to their people the good treatment they received, as that they came to form war parties which were there arranged. M. Pouchot's chief attention was, that the store-keepers should keep a good account with the Indians, and during his stay, they did nothing but praise the exactness of his employees. He rendered a precise account to M. de Vaudreuil, of the quantity of presents which

he was obliged to make to the Indians for the service, and of the condition of the stores, so that his conduct might be corrected if not conformable to the intentions of the general, who never failed to approve them. M. Pouchot had prohibited all trade of the French or Canadians with the store keepers, whether of purchase or sale, and refused to take any foreign merchandize on the king's account. Nothing was received into the magazines except what the intendant had sent in the vessels. This outside trade was the source of all the depredations perpetrated at other forts. But there were no fortunes made after the fashion of the day at Niagara, during the sojourn of M. Pouchot, but greatly to the disgust of the Canadians under his orders.

We have said that the vessels lay at anchor till the wind favored. It passed around to the N. W. and at four o'clock in the afternoon we left the river. As the wind freshened constantly, we were obliged to close reef the fore-sail. The wind blew in flaws very violently, at intervals accompanied with lightning.

About eleven o'clock in the evening, as one of these flaws was approaching, some electrical fires appeared on the tops of the two masts, and at the points of the yards. These lights were eight or ten inches long, and appeared to be three or four wide, and very brilliant. The sailors call them St. Elmo's Lights. They greatly alarmed our crew, who at once closed the hatchways, the pipes of the pumps, and

other places where they imagined this fire could penetrate. M. Pouchot was amused at all this, and reassured the passengers. When another flaw came on these lights reappeared again, and showed themselves twice afterwards. They disappeared as soon as the clouds removed from the atmosphere the attraction of the vessel, but rekindled as soon as the clouds came over. They lasted about half an hour each time. At daybreak the wind freshened, and blew so strong that we were obliged to run with bare poles before the wind, and it being in our stern, we arrived at Frontenac in twenty-one hours from Niagara. This was one of the shortest passages that had been made, having sailed about ninety leagues in this interval of time. M. Pouchot and the officers of his detachment, did not occupy more than two days in going from Frontenac to Montreal, where they were well received by the two generals.[1]

On the 29th of November, M. Bellestre, a colonial captain, returned from an expedition to the Mohawk or Agniers river.[2] He had burned twelve or thirteen

[1] A letter written by Captain Pouchot, to M. Paulmy upon his return to Montreal, is given in the *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 667. At the time he left Niagara, he had completed that fort with the exception of sodding a portion of the earth works. Here were then two large barracks, a church, a powder magazine, a store for provisions and one for goods.

In this letter he presses his claim for promotion to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, upon the ground of long and efficient service, and an economical administration of the responsible duties with which he had been charged.— Ed.

[2] The details of this attack upon German Flatts, are given in the *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 672.— Ed.

houses of a German village, near the fort which they defended and brought back with them sixty prisoners, men, women and children, having had in this affair only one colonial lieutenant badly wounded.[1]

1758. Early in January, a detachment of 150 English came to Carillon, where they killed sixteen of our cattle.[2] During this month, one of our cadets was killed and another wounded, in an expedition sent against Fort Cumberland in Virginia. Mouet, a colonial cadet, whom M. Pouchot had sent with a party of Indians, returned from Pennsylvania with fourteen scalps and prisoners.

In February, M. de Langis, colonial officer, returned to Carillon, from an expedition made to Fort Edward or Lydius, where he took three prisoners and twenty-

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[1] Having finished the narrative of this campaign, M. Pouchot should have spoken of the miscarriage of the English project against Louisburgh, which was the task of M. de Machaut, minister of the Marine. Several fleets which seemed to have different destinations, assembled at the post of Louisburg, yet admiral Holbourne, could attempt nothing against the place. On the 25th of September, while cruising, he was beset by a south wind which dismasted eleven of his ships, and cast the Tilbury upon the rocks. The French Squadron under the orders of M. Dubois de la Mothe, would have profited by this disaster, had not a sickness began to prevail among his crews. This was more disastrous to our marine than the loss of a battle. Some of the vessels only arrived at Brest, as if by a miracle, and they were so infected that liberty was promised to such galley slaves as would undertake to unload them.— *Note in Original.*

Two hundred and twenty-five of the crew of the Tilbury were drowned, and one hundred and seventy-five taken prisoners.— *Mante.* — Ed.

[2] This party was under Major Rogers, the Ranger. See his Journal, p. 75.— Ed.

three scalps. These prisoners informed us that twenty regiments had arrived from old England, and that they meditated great projects during the coming campaign. These troops were those who had capitulated at Closter-Seven.[1] They further added, that their general Loudon, had quarrelled with Shirley, and that they had sent a statement of their griefs to England.

On the 1st of March, a party of two hundred of our domiciled Indians, and forty Canadians left Montreal. These Indians coming to the fort, asked of M. d' Hebecourt, the commandant, some provisions, and said they wished to rest a few days before setting out on their march. He gave them some, with a little brandy, and the Indians returned to their camp and began to drink. One of them who did not wish to join them, began a jugglery, and after some time he called the rest to a council, and told them that he had learned by this means, that the English had out a party, who had come to Carillon, and that they could not be far distant. He then exhorted his comrades to set out the next day, which they in fact did. The commandant was agreeably surprised at this prompt resolution of relieving him, and granted all they asked. Several officers and soldiers of the garrison wished to join the expedition. They proceeded along the lake

[1] By the capitulation of Closter-Seven (Sept. 8, 1757), 38,000 Hanoverian auxiliaries of the army of the Duke of Cumberland, laid down their arms, and dispersed into different quarters of cantonment.— *Smollett.* — Ed.

shore, and at three leagues beyond, their scouts noticed the tracks of men in considerable numbers on the ice, and reported this. It was determined at once to retire into the woods near which the English would pass. Our scouts, seeing the English troops descending a little hill, ran to notify their people that they were approaching. They arrived at a little elevation by the time that the English were at the bottom of the hill, and they at once attacked them, killing one hundred and forty-six upon the spot. They did not save more than the fifth part of the two hundred that they had. Robert Rogers, who commanded them, left his clothes, his commission and his instructions, to enable him the better to flee. Eleven officers or volunteers had joined this detachment, of whom four belonged to regiments that had lately arrived from England. Five were taken prisoners to Carillon, and others were lost in the woods where they perished of hunger. We had in this affair, five Iroquois of the Saut, killed, one Neppissen, of the Lake, and three more Iroquois mortally wounded.[1] This was one of the most vigorous actions of the Indians. They afterwards formed a

[1] The statement is given in nearly the same language in the last volume. Compare also another account given in *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 703. Major Rogers's own account confesses a loss of one hundred and twenty-six killed in a party of one hundred and eighty. He throws severe blame upon Col. Haviland then at Fort Edward, for not giving him a sufficient force. One Putnam, captain of a company of Connecticut provincials (afterwards General Putnam of the Revolution), had a little before this expedition been on a scout towards the French post. — *Rogers's Journal*, p. 79. — Ed.

select detachment of volunteers under the name of *Decouvreurs*.

On the 1st of April, it was very pleasant. The sun was surrounded by a circle almost as large as the horizon, which was very bright at intervals through the day. At about nine o'clock in the evening, there was formed an arch of northern light, from east to west, whose diameter was about nine leagues, one end touching the lake of Two Mountains, and the other the village of Chateaugay. Nothing could be more majestic; the sky on both sides was very clear, and the breadth of the arch was at least three times that of a common rainbow. The light which was very bright, increased from time to time, like a flame flickered by the air. Its color was a pale white. Its extremities formed a point, like the wood of a bow, and it lasted half an hour. The northern lights which attended it, reached from south to north, shining very brightly and forming great rays, which lasted more than two hours.

A party of Iroquois Indians of La Presentation, had resolved to go on an expedition to the Palatine village on the Mohawk river, but the greater part of them desisted from the enterprise. One of their chiefs[1] still wished to persist in it, and two other warriors joined him. They arrived about night near the first house in the village, where there were eleven men as a guard,

[1] Kouatageté, who is frequently noticed in a subsequent part of this work relating to La Presentation. — Ed.

who were quietly enjoying themselves, having their arms against the wall within the room by the side of the window, where the Indians could see them. The chief hid himself near this window which was very low, and proposed to the two warriors to attack these people, but they refused, as they saw so many men. After some useless entreaty, the chief said to them: "When I set out, I threw away my body, so that I lose nothing in attacking them; follow me if you will." This man, who was about five feet nine inches, young and vigorous, at once leaped through the window, all naked and painted black, his gun in hand, and shouting as usual. The English militia who did not expect this apparition, arose and greatly frightened fled to a corner of the room. The Indian made several yells, and acted like a crazy person. Seeing the guns, he took and threw them out of the window to his friends, but took no notice of them. By this time, the two other Indians seeing their comrade within, fighting with the English, knife in hand, (they always have one hung to the neck), entered by the window with loud cries. The English thinking them to be in numbers, humbly asked quarters. Our three Indians took them and brought them to Montreal. If everybody had not seen these prisoners, they would not have believed this adventure.

On the first days of May, a detachment of forty-five soldiers and an officer, left Carillon in bateaux to go and bring some plank that had been sawed on the

other side of the river. As soon as they landed, they were fired upon by about forty Indians, and seventeen men were killed or captured. We learned about this time, by a courier from Niagara, that the Indians called *Folles-Avoines*, had killed twenty-two French, and pillaged the magazine of the post at La Baye.[1] They will soon make reparation for what they have done.

Before beginning to relate the operations of this campaign, we will say a word upon the situation of Canada.

The various expeditions that had been formed in many places, had occasioned a great consumption of provisions and merchandise. The enemy had captured fourteen or fifteen vessels destined for this country, which still further reduced the supply, so that last winter, wine sold at four hundred livres per cask in silver, a minot of Indian corn a livre, or six livres the bushel, and everything else in proportion.[2]

The intendant was obliged to take goods from

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[1] Now Green Bay, Wisconsin. — Ed.

[2] The extremities to which the French were brought at this period are forcibly described by M. Daine in a letter to Marshal de Belle Isle, dated Quebec, May 19, 1758. — *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 704.

Garneau in speaking of this period says:

"The harvest [of 1757] had entirely failed, and in some parishes there was not enough saved for seed. The wheat which looked well on the ground yielded nothing, on account of the heavy rains in midsummer, and the people in some villages had been reduced to four ounces of bread daily since May. . . . . From twelve to fifteen hundred horses were brought up by the intendant for food." — *Garneau*, iii, 98. — Ed.

individuals to supply the posts, and the Canadian officers, who commanded, imported from France upon their own account the goods necessary for their trade with the Indians, for their equipment, and for the presents intended for them. They demanded of the king a large price, and their accounts passed without difficulty, because they were those of favorite officers, and the details of these supplies were certified by themselves. They well thought that they should lose nothing by so doing, and in two or three years they amassed great fortunes. The French troops who had no other resources, suffered much in consequence of the increased price of everything. They could no longer buy from the king's stores, and found themselves limited in their rations. As the officers and soldiers were obliged to supply themselves from their pay, with everything for the campaign, they could get no other arms than what they had with them, while the Canadian officers had the resources of their domain. Consequently this campaign was very costly to the former.

On the 19th of May, eight vessels arrived at Quebec.[1] Those for the commissary should have come in three fleets, but the first vessels reported that the second had been attacked by the English, and, as they thought, many had been taken.

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[1] These vessels arrived from Bordeaux, under convoy of the *Sirenne*. Five were laden with flour, and a small English prize with flour made the total of this article about eight thousand barrels. — *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 706. — Ed.

On the 5th of June, some prisoners taken by a party of Nepissens,[1] informed us, that the English army had begun to assemble at Fort George. On the 7th, the Languedoc left its quarters for Carillon, on the 12th the Guienne, on the 15th the Royal-Roussillon, on the 17th the Sarre, and on the 20th the Béarn.

The Berri, and the Queen also left Quebec to repair to this fort, as also did M. M. de Montcalm and de Bourlamaque.

M. de Lévis was left at Montreal, because according to the plan of this campaign, he was to leave with a detachment of three hundred French troops and nine hundred Canadians, colonial troops and Indians, to enter New England by way of Schenectady. The French piquets belonged to the Sarre, Royal-Roussillon and Béarn, each of seventy-four men, with a captain and two lieutenants. M. Pouchot, as ranking captain, commanded them. On the 28th, a courier from Quebec brought news that Louisburg was invested, and that five ships of the line had anchored in the river, as they could not enter that port.[2] They brought some provisions, munitions and recruits. All the officers had large ventures, and said they could sell for a million.

On the 29th, a party of Indians returned to Carillon

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[1] Christian Indians who had been domiciled. — *Note in Original.*

[2] This was the squadron of M. de Chaffault. — *Ib.*

with twenty prisoners, of whom two were officers. They reported that their army was about thirty-one thousand strong and destined to attack Carillon. By intercepted letters we learned, that they were to make a false attack upon the Ohio. The arrival of M. de Langis from Carillon, confirmed in part this news.

On the 30th, the piquets destined for Schenectady received orders to repair to Carillon, and they left the next day in bateaux, under the orders of M. Pouchot. On the 4th, in the evening, they arrived at St. John, thirty leagues by water from Montreal. In studying upon the intercepted letter which M. de Vaudreuil had ordered sent to him, he judged that Frontenac was threatened. He wrote to M. de Vaudreuil, to induce him to instantly arm the vessels which he found there, and those that had been taken at Oswego, and that if they could be got ready, to order them to blockade the Oswego river, where the enemy could not have more than a few small bateaux, and would find it impossible to enter upon the lake. He could not put this project into execution, which would have certainly saved that post, because Péan and company had carried off all the rigging of these vessels, and turned it to their own profit. There arrived at St. John the same evening, two hundred and forty Abenakis, with an officer of the colonial troops. M. Pouchot invited them to go with him the next day, but they said they would wait for some more Indians, and for M. Rigaud

who had command of some Canadians.[1] On the 6th M. Pouchot when about three leagues from the Isle au Chapon in Lake Champlain, was met by a courier sent by M. de Montcalm to M. de Vaudreuil, to announce that the English army had disembarked at the portage. A barque anchored near that island informed M. Pouchot that they had heard many discharges of cannon during the last three hours. This decided him to stop only four hours, to allow his men a little repose, as they had scarcely any wind, and had rowed about twenty-four leagues. He left on the 7th before day, and when at St. Frederic near Split Rock, he met a courier from M. de Montcalm, who informed him that the enemy were at the Falls, and that he was charged to tell him to push forward with all diligence. He enquired whether they had seen any of the enemy along the lake, and the commandant told him that he had not. M. Pouchot continued on his way, and at half past seven in the evening arrived near Carrillon. Seeing at this place some tents, he thought that our army had retired, but he was told that the camp was on the heights four hundred toises in front of the place, and that the troops were there busy intrenching themselves. He at once proceeded to the hill, to observe their works. He found a plan of intrenchment very well drawn, for the character of the ground,

[1] These details, although minute, became necessary to justify the author in explaining the delay of his troops. — *Note in Original.*

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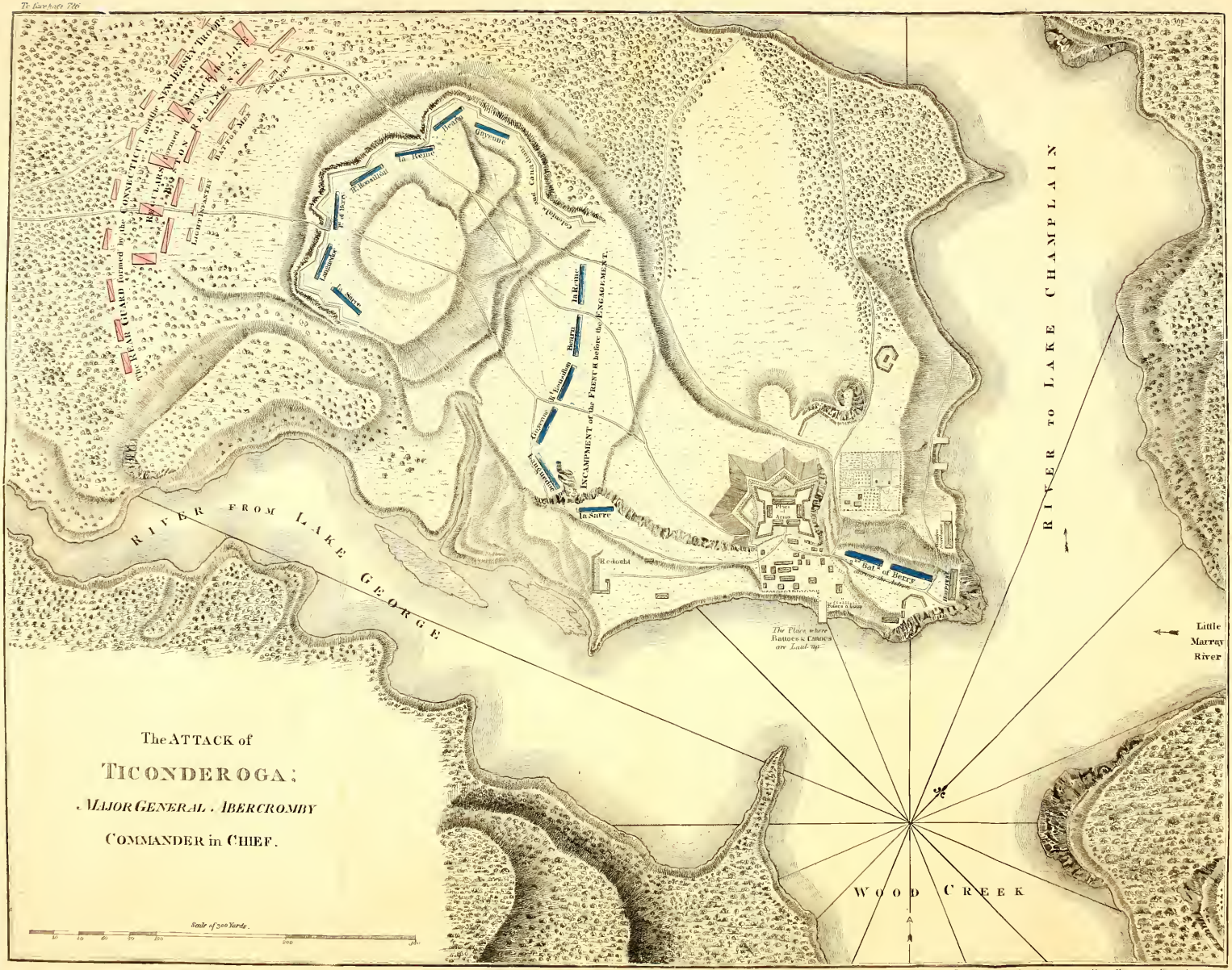
The ATTACK of
TICONDEROGA:
MAJOR GENERAL ABERCROMBY
COMMANDER in CHIEF.
RIVER FROM LAKE GEORGE
RIVER TO LAKE CHAMPLAIN
WOOD CREEK
Little Marray River
INCAMPMENT of the FRENCH before the ENGAGEMENT.
Scale of 300 Yards.
Engraved by John E. Gavit, from the plate in Montes History of the War in America

and a great amount of work done for the short time, which was only seven hours since the beginning.[1]

The intrenchment was an abattis of trees. The parapet was covered by branches interwoven, presenting their points most difficult to tear from the palisade, and affording shelter for a sudden movement. It was difficult to distinguish this kind of intrenchment, which the enemy might easily take for a simple abattis. M. Pouchot was well pleased with these arrangements. Having met M. de Montcalm, who welcomed him as one who had brought three hundred chosen men, (the same that had been selected for the expedition to Schenectady), the general asked him how he found his position? He replied, "General, until the enemy have driven you from the height, they cannot reconnoitre your intrenchment." He appeared surprised and pleased at this remark.

The enemy about twenty-two to twenty-five thousand strong,[2] had been commanded since the departure of Lord Loudon, by Major General Abercrombie, an old and very prudent officer. He had with him a

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[1] The engineer who traced these works was Dupont Le Roy, engineer-in-chief of Canada. — *Memoires sur le Canada*, p. 108. — Ed.

[2] The English army consisted of the 27th, 42d, 44th, 46th and 56th regiments, first battalion of Royal Americans, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery, numbering about six thousand three hundred and forty-seven of the king's troops, with nine thousand and twenty-four provincials, amounting to fifteen thousand three hundred and ninety-one men. — Ed.

young nobleman, Lord Ho, or Hau,[1] of the greatest enterprise, and a decided favorite in this army, to which he fully imparted his tone. He had come in April, with a detachment, to reconnoitre the position of the fort at Carillon, and appeared to be charged with the direction of every project of attack in the campaign. He had induced all the officers to put themselves on a level with the common soldier, through fear of the event of Braddock's defeat, where the officers were fired upon by preference. He induced the army to cut their hair short, leaving it not more than two fingers' breadth long, and all the officers and soldiers were supplied with a kind of gaiters like those worn by the Indians and Canadians and called *Mituzzes*. Their haversacks were rolled up in a blanket, which they carried as did the Indians and Canadians. They had each thirty pounds of meal, a pound of powder and four pounds of balls, besides their cartridge boxes full, so that an army thus equipped would need no magazine for a month. Their canteens were filled with rum. Both officers and men mixed their own meal with a little water, and baked it in cakes, by putting it on a flat stone under the ashes, an arrangement which did very well for a light expedition. The soldier thus found everything necessary for his use, and was no more loaded than ordi-

[1] The English accounts speak of Lord Howe and not of Ho. M. Pouchot might be very easily deceived by the English pronunciation of this word. — *Note in Original.*

narily. The officers and men had only one shirt a piece, which was doubtless of cotton, and well made. Lord H. set the example, by himself washing his own dirty shirt, and drying it in the sun, while he in the meantime wore nothing but his coat.

This army, which had expected to be able to descend with but little difficulty to Montreal, had left Fort George on the 6th. It set out at six in the morning upon the open lake.[1] First there came five barges, and then sixty, which formed the advance guard of the army. Finally, the lake appeared covered with barges, each holding twenty men or upwards. These troops were soon perceived by a detachment of 300 of our troops under the orders of M. de Trépezec, a captain of the regiment of Béarn, who was ordered to go as far as Mount Pélée, to oppose his strength to such troops as might advance by land, as was then expected. The enemy were, until about four hours in the evening, exploring the right and left shores of the lake, to find a place for disembarking, which they did, and at once pitched camp at Coutre-Coeur and the side of the lake opposite. By this manœuvre the detachment of Trépezec formed itself in the rear of the enemy, and were obliged to strike into the woods to return to our army. They went astray, and after marching a long distance, they fell between the river

[1] The English army embarked on nine hundred boats and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats, with cannon mounted upon rafts to cover the landing if necessary. — Ed.

Bernes and that of the Fall, where they found themselves between the enemy's army and its advance guard under Lord Ho, who attacked them while passing a dangerous rapid. The French detachment was beaten, and not more than a score of men escaped, with a captain of the Queen's regiment and Trépezec, who was mortally wounded. The English took 110 men and 4 officers prisoners, the rest being left on the battle field.[1] Lord Ho was killed in this affair.[1] The enemy regarded his loss as irreparable, as he alone understood the ground over which they were to pass to reach Carillon.

The Queen's regiment, and those of Guienne and

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[1] The enemy had near three hundred killed and one hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners and wounded. The loss on the part of the English did not exceed forty.— *Mante*, p. 146.— Ed.

The remains of Lord Howe were taken to Albany and buried under the English church. It is believed that they were subsequently removed to England. He was a brother of the British General and Admiral of this name employed in America in the revolution.

A monument was erected by Massachusetts in Westminster Abbey to the memory of Lord Howe. It represents that province as a figure in mournful posture, lamenting the fall of this hero, and the family arms ornamented with military trophies. Beneath, is the inscription following:

"The Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, by an order of the great and general court, bearing date, February 1st, 1759, caused this monument to be erected to the memory of George, Lord Viscount Howe, Brigadier General of his Majesty's forces in North America, who was slain July 6th, 1758, on his march to Ticonderoga, in the 34th year of his age: in testimony of the sense they had of his services and military virtues, and of the affection their officers and soldiers bore to his command.

He lived respected and beloved; the public regretted his loss: to his family it is irreparable." — *Williams's Hist. Vermont*, i, 505.— Ed.

Béarn which were encamped at the portage, held in presence of the enemy from the 6th to the 7th. As they were obliged to be constantly in line of battle, their pickets composed of grenadiers and volunteers, skirmished with the enemy, losing their provisions and camp, which the enemy seized, when they were forced to join the rest of the army. They might readily have escaped this misfortune had M. de Bourlamaque been willing that this camp should be removed while these regiments were engaged with the enemy. But he refused to do this, saying that this manœuvre would discourage the soldiers. This officer had so much confidence, that he wanted to attack with his pickets and grenadiers, a body of 18,000 men who were before him, although M. de Montcalm had given orders for him to remove this camp.

This body of troops did not fall back till the 7th, when their advanced guards were mingled with those of the enemy who pursued them with the greatest order. The French army made a stand below the Falls. M. de Bourlamaque could hardly wait, and M. de Montcalm was not decided. All the officers trembled at this position. They formed themselves in a valley surrounded by knolls, and the enemy who had beaten Trépezec could come at any moment upon these hills and cut off our retreat to Carillon. Finally the Chevalier de Bernés of the Royal-Roussillon and de Montigny of Béarn, experienced captains, represented

to M. de Montcalm the danger of this position, where they could have been taken without the least resistance. He yielded to their advice, and they retired 400 toises from that place, to the end of a swell of ground that slopes towards Carillon.

Upon reaching that place, they began at once to form intrenchments, as we have above described. The 8th being a day so memorable, as that on which 2,992 men repulsed more than 22,000 it deserves a detailed account. We will first speak of the contour of the ground, in order to better understand these operations.

The land which stretches from the Falls to Carillon, formed an elevated peninsula, the summit of which was rounded, and sinuous, with ridges and elevations at intervals. The road from Carillon to the Falls, is along this summit. There were three or four hills, which run from this summit to the river at the Falls, and the road passes between these hills which rendered it susceptible of defence, for the distance of the eighth of a league. The slope of the ground towards the river was quite steep, but on the left side it was more gentle. There were a few knolls near the bottom of the slope, and then a flat of about 200 toises to the river.

The left of our intrenchments descended along this steep slope to the river, and crowned the summit of the ground. Our right was on the height, which commanded the little flat of 200 toises, where the intrenchment was scarcely traced.

The Colonial troops and Canadians occupied this plain. The Queen's and Béarn were upon the height to the right, the Guienne, Royal-Roussillon, Languedoc, and a battalion of Berri, were upon the summit, and a battalion of Berri, and the Sarre, were upon the slope on our left. This intrenchment was about 980 paces in circumference.

On the night of the 7th, the enemy were employed in opening roads, and in intrenching their camp at the portage, the burned camp and that of the Falls. On the 8th they advanced to within 150 toises of our intrenchments, where they formed an abattis of defence, and several works of this kind extending to the falls, to cover their retreat.

M. de Montcalm was all the morning quite irresolute, as to whether he should receive the enemy or fall back upon St. Frederic. It is certain, that if we had been forced to take the latter alternative, the whole army would have been killed or captured, as having no means of retreat; nor could they be contained in the fort, or depend upon its protection, because it was commanded entirely, and surrounded by water. The general at 8 o'clock, even selected two officers of Béarn, la Parquiere and Tourville, the one to go and occupy Fort St. Frederic, and the other to cook bread. As they were about to depart, he consulted his officers. He asked M. Pouchot, if he thought the enemy would attack him during the day, and he replied; "Sir, I think they will. The

enemy cannot know the work we have done, and think they have nothing to do but to press forward your troops who occupy the height. They feel that if they dislodge you, they are masters of the day; but, sir, your intrenchments are proof against a hand assault, they can be held, and you have great hope of standing the shock. If they do not do it to-day, they cannot within two or three days, because they must open roads to bring up their artillery. Then, your position will be changed, and you will have time to decide as to what is best to be done." This decided him to await the events of the day. The troops worked incessantly in fortifying their intrenchments.

About 10 o'clock, a platoon of troops appeared upon the Mountain Serpent-à-Sonnette, who fired into our camp, and at the soldiers busy at their work, but did no damage. They were Johnson with some Indians who had arrived that morning.[1] We caused a flag to be put upon the intrenchment, with orders that if any thing serious should happen, to place it higher, and at the same time to fire a cannon as a signal to call the soldiers from labor to arms.

At half an hour past noon, the English attacked our advanced guard of grenadiers and volunteers, who were posted at the end of our covert, which was not more than 40 or 50 toises wide in front of the intrenchment. They replied in good order, and held

[1] Four hundred and forty Indians under Sir William Johnson joined the army at this time.— *Mante*, p. 148.— Ed.

the enemy in check for some time. As soon as the troops, who were dispersed on their several labors heard the musketry somewhat sharp, they ran to arms without waiting for the signal, and just in time, as the head of the enemy's columns had begun to emerge from their covert of fallen trees.

We cannot too highly praise the good conduct of the soldiers who held themselves to their posts, and there were none idle. Four columns of the enemy advanced at about the same time, of which that on the right, at once attacked the Sarre and Berri. The center then advanced, and two from the left of the enemy, who marched near each other, the one towards the summit, and the other along the slope of the hill, expecting under the fire of the upper column, to approach and drive from our works the Béarn and Queen's regiments, which the upper column saw somewhat from the rear. They became hotly engaged at this place, as also on our left, where they were able to take the cover of a little bank that protected them.

We might therefore say, that all parts of the intrenchments, were in turn attacked with the greatest fury. In the intervals between the columns, several small bodies of troops were scattered, who, by their fire, greatly incommoded those in the intrenchments. The attack was pressed with vigor during four hours. The fire of our regiments was more lively and active than could be expected from a like number of troops. If the abattis deranged somewhat the march of the

enemy's columns they also found them well manned and covered. There occurred an event almost unparalleled in the hottest part of this assault, which may serve as a lesson upon another occasion, M. de Bassignac, a captain of Royal-Roussillon, to amuse himself, put his red handkerchief upon the end of his gun, and made a sign to the enemy to advance. The head of the enemy's column, which was opposite the Guienne, seeing this kind of flag, thought it was a flag of truce, and that we wished to surrender. Full willing to be relieved from the position they were in, the enemy started upon a run for the intrenchments, holding their guns high and crosswise with both hands, and crying *quarter*. Our soldiers who knew nothing of the handkerchief adventure, thought they were coming to surrender, and at once mounted upon the trenches with their arms, to see them come in. This occasioned a short cessation of the fire.

M. Pouchot, who was very near this regiment, where he held an angle that the enemy were trying to gain, but was wanting powder and balls. He had sent to ask some of his neighbors, but as they were warmly pressed by the enemy, they feared that their own stock might be entirely exhausted, and he then allowed a soldier to leave his post, and run to M. de Fontbonne, commandant of the regiment of Guienne, to ask some of him. He was in this condition at the moment of this event. Surprised at seeing the soldiers perched upon their intrenchments, he at the same time observed

the forward movement of the enemy. At this moment M. de Fontbonne cried out to his soldiers: "Tell them to drop their arms and we will receive them." M. Pouchot who saw from the manner of the enemy, that they thought quite differently, and that they only wished to reach the intrenchments, cried out with energy to his soldiers, "Fire! Fire! don't you see these men will take you!" The soldiers suddenly recalled by this exclamation, at once discharged a volley, which laid two or three hundred upon the ground. It is certain that this misunderstanding would have otherwise lost us the advantage of the day. The English quickly fled behind their abattis. The battle had lasted three hours and a half, but we well perceived that they only sought to maintain it till night. They have since reproached us with having used an unpardonable deceit.

The enemy behaved in this attack with the greatest bravery, standing without flinching before a terrible fire of musketry. They had many killed within ten or twelve paces from the intrenchments. Our soldiers behaved with much gayety and coolness, and when they heard the enemy's fire increase, they only cried out, "Take care on the right! Take care on the left!" M. M. de Montcalm, De Lévis and De Bourlamaque, by their attention in sending timely support to the parts most strongly attacked, merited the highest praise, as did also the several officers in causing their soldiers to perform their respective parts. The same

justice is due to the soldiers themselves, and to the colonial and Canadian troops who occupied the intrenchments on the flat, who were even not in condition for defence, but by continual sorties, they dissuaded the English from attempting anything on their side, where they could have easily turned their works had they known their ground, and the facility of taking them. The English lost in this battle from four to five thousand men and many officers.[1] We had but forty-two officers and five hundred soldiers killed or wounded. M. de Bourlamaque received a dangerous wound in the shoulder.

We passed the night under arms, fearing that the English might wish to renew the battle in the morning, which was not very probable, because they had lost at the head of their columns all the choice men and officers of their army. The Royal Scotch regiment, which attacked the angle on the right of fourteen hundred men, lost nine hundred and fifty men,

[1] The English admitted a loss of only eighteen hundred men, but we can place little reliance upon their statements. The government having more to gain in spirits than France, only sought to deceive, as well by augmenting its victories, as in diminishing its losses. Some writers of that nation have accused General Abercrombie of having failed in his duty, in not advancing his artillery with which to destroy the intrenchments of the French. This is all wrong, as cannon could have made but slight impression upon works of this kind, as the late affair at Savannah is conclusive proof. — *Note in Original.*

"In this unhappy attempt, the English lost four hundred and sixty-four regulars killed, eleven hundred and seventeen wounded, and twenty-nine missing; and of the provincials, eighty-seven killed, two hundred and thirty-nine wounded, and eight missing." — *Ante*, p. 149. — Ed.

and nearly all its officers.[1] On the morning of the next day, the enemy retired, and reëmbarked in great disorder. They abandoned seven hundred quarters of meal, after having partially destroyed it. We found in the mud, on the road to the Falls, more than five hundred pairs of shoes with buckles, which strongly indicated the precipitancy of their flight.[2] We also found many soldiers in the woods who were lost.

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[1] "The Grenadiers and Scotch Highlanders continued to charge for three hours, without flinching or breaking. The Highland regiment especially, under Lord John Murray, covered itself with glory. It formed the head of a column almost in the face of the Canadians, and its light and picturesque costume distinguished it from all the rest, in the midst of the flame and smoke. This corps lost half of its men and twenty-five officers killed or badly wounded."—*Garneau*, iii, 131.— Ed.

[2] The panic which seized the English army was scarcely surpassed by that of the Federals in the battle of Bull Run in July, 1861. It was unknown to the French until the next day, when a scouting party of Gen. Lévis discovered that they had repassed the lake. "If he had been informed of the confusion that prevailed amongst them and pursued them, he might, even with his inferior numbers, have given them a severe blow. For when the disorder amongst the English troops began to increase to such a degree as to require the personal appearance of a commander-in-chief to restrain it effectually, the general, who had remained during the greatest part of the attack at the saw mills, two miles from the scene of action, was not to be found; nor did there in fact, appear any other officer to do his duty, though so fair an opportunity presented itself to the second in command to distinguish and recommend himself. Notwithstanding all this, it is a matter of astonishment, that troops, who had so resolutely advanced to the attack, and who had so valiantly repeated it, should, when broken, yet unpursued, and with daylight before them, be susceptible of so strong a panic. But it is still more surprising to think of the steps taken by the general when he resumed the command. He ordered the artillery and ammunition to Albany. Nay, as though he did not think them safe even at that place, measures were taken to convey them to New York."—*Mante*, 151. Gen. Abercrombie's account of the battle is given in *Williams's Hist. Vermont*, 2d Ed., i, 410.— Ed.

On the 11th, we began to correct our intrenchments, having had good occasion to know their faults. On the 12th, M. Rigaud arrived with about three thousand Canadians or colonial soldiers. He was followed on the 13th by six hundred Indians. If these reïnforcements had arrived on the day of the battle, it might have been possible, (since M. de Lévis arrived in the morning, and M. Pouchot had as we have said invited the Indians at St. John to follow him,) to have pursued the enemy on their retreat, as but few could have reëmbarked, and their army would have run the risk of perishing in scattered parties in the woods.

We learned from a deserter, that on the day after the battle, the enemy sent off a large detachment, and that their Indians retired to the number of five hundred men, all of them Iroquois. Johnson, who had led them thither, had promised them that they should not fight, but only look on and see how the English should beat the French. They had not much occasion to be pleased with the way in which this was done. The detachment of which we have spoken, went to attack Frontenac, after failing in their operations at Carillon.

On the 25th a party of three hundred Indians and two hundred French or Canadians, under the orders of St. Luc, a colonial captain, set out. On the 1st of August, it returned, having attacked a convoy of fifty-four wagons, having some provisions and a large

amount of equipage which they pillaged. They brought in sixty prisoners and one hundred and ten scalps.[1] A few days before, a detachment of five hundred men, under the orders of M. de Courte-Manche, had taken forty scalps, and brought to camp five prisoners.

The English, on their part, labored to form an intrenched camp. A party under M. Marin, a colonial captain, encountered a body of their troops composed of seven or eight hundred men, and commanded by Rogers. M. Marin took prisoner a major of militia from old England[2] with some others, and took only two scalps. The loss of the English was estimated at one hundred men, while the French had four Indians killed, and four wounded, and six Canadians killed and six wounded, among whom was an officer and a cadet.

We may infer from the relation of M. de Longeuil, who had been sent to the Five Nations, that they were then very little inclined in our behalf. They favored the march of the English destined for Frontenac, who concealed their purpose by saying that they were going

[1] Major Rogers states that this attack was made on the 27th, between Fort Edward and Half-Way Brook, and that one hundred and sixteen English were killed, of whom sixteen were rangers. He was immediately sent out with a large party, but the enemy escaped. — *Rogers's Journal*, 117. — Ed.

[2] This is probably an error. The major captured was Israel Putnam of the provincial troops. Major Rogers states the loss of the English as thirty-three, and that of the enemy as one hundred and ninety-nine, including Indians. — *Rogers's Journal*, 119. — Ed.

to rebuild the forts at the portage and on Oswego river.[1]

On the 27th the English, to the number of three thousand militia, under the command of Bradstreet, came by way of Schenectady, descended the Oswego river, crossed Lake Ontario, and landed at Little Cataracoui. On the next day, they placed a battery behind an epaulment of some old intrenchments which were left. They soon breached the wall, and the garrison of ninety men and thirty voyageurs, surrendered upon condition of being allowed to descend to Montreal.[2] The English took away a part of the artillery

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[1] Bradstreet's force consisted of 135 regulars, 1,112 provincials from New York, 412 from New Jersey, 675 from Massachusetts, and 318 from Rhode Island, with 300 bateau men; in all 2,952 men. He encountered the greatest difficulty in getting through the abattis of timber which Col. Webb had felled into Wood Creek in 1756. — *Mante*, p. 152. — Ed.

[2] The fort mounted thirty cannon and sixteen small mortars, and contained thirty more pieces. The English found nine vessels of from eight to eighteen guns, two of which were sent to Oswego, one of them richly laden. The rest were burned. The destruction of property and abandonment of the fort, although in obedience to orders of General Abercrombie, has been severely censured. It was thought that everything might have been held, and that it would have given the English a powerful advantage. — *Mante*, p. 154.

This post was commanded by M. Payan de Noyau, a gentleman from Normandy, king's lieutenant, of Three Rivers. They had given him this command which was below his grade, to improve his affairs which were badly deranged. He was a philosopher, a poet, and sometimes meddled with physic. His aim was to be a little spicy, which had gained him some enemies. M. de Vaudreuil who was not learned, detested him, although under some obligations. He was sixty-eight years old, and infirm, but at this advanced age, retained the full freedom of his spirit, and was in condition to do honor to

which we had captured at Oswego, and destroyed what they could not remove.[1] They also took away the barque *Marquise* and the brigantine. The rest of our marine they burned. It is said they destroyed, or delivered to the flames, nearly two millions of merchandise, two thousand quarters of meal, and five hundred quarters of pork[2] also fell into their hands. After this expedition they hastily retired. If we had been in condition to equip our vessels, and had the advice of M. Pouchot been followed, it is probable that this expedition of the English would have been checked.

On the 30th, M. du Plessis, with eighteen hundred men, was detached to take post at La Presentation and cover that frontier. M. de Longeuil who had been sent to treat with the Five Nations, could go no further than to Oswego, the Indians having told him not to go any further, because their people were all out hunting, and that the English had six or seven thousand men at the portage rebuilding the posts. They informed him of the adventure at Carillon, of which they had been witnesses, and added, that we were *Manitous*, and that they knew we had five guns a piece.

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a post they had given him to defend, had he sufficient force. — *Memoires sur le Canada*, 113.

This writer intimates that De Noyen was sacrificed to the resentment of the governor.— Ed.

[1] The artillery of this fort consisted of sixty pieces of cannon and sixteen small mortars. — *Note in Original.*

[2] Thus in Original. Probably barrels.— Ed.

The English built a small vessel of sixteen guns at Fort George. From that time they would sometimes come and explore the lake as far as the Isle au Mouton, which had no other effect than to keep us on the alert.

On the 26th we learned from a deserter, that the camp at Fort George, was composed of the fourth batallion of Royal Americans, of the 17th, the 35th, a Scotch batallion, and two batallions of Boston militia, with five hundred men of new companies, amounting in all to six or seven thousand men. We also learned, that there had arrived in Albany, five thousand men from Louisburg, who were going into camp. This deserter also added that they were going to attack Carillon, and that they had mortars, and twenty pieces of cannon, of which eight were 24's, a large barque and two galleys of forty-eight oars each.

In the month of October, M. de Vaudreuil sent a reïnforcement of 1,300 Canadians to Carillon. On the 26th, we learned from another deserter, that the English had broken camp to go into winter quarters, that they had evacuated Fort George, and sunk their barques.[1] Such was the end of this campaign, which had not been particularly disastrous except in the capture of Louisburg and Isle Royal.

The English fleet after leaving the harbor of Hali-

[1] The sloop *Halifax*, built during this season at Fort George and sunk on the approach of winter, was got up, rigged and equipped in the spring of 1759. — Ed.

fax, appeared on the coast of that Island. They made several attempts to land, but without success. Luckily for the enemy, they observed a rock which had been regarded as inaccessible and was not guarded. They landed and reached the summit without meeting with any other obstacle. The results of this enterprise and most of its details are known to the world.[1]

For this reason, we will only here mention a few anecdotes. The admiral Boscawen, was cruising before the place with his men-of-war and all the transports laden with provisions for the army. An officer of the blue,[2] of the French marine, asked for their destruction, only two vessels fitted up as fire ships. Although he ran the risk of being taken, he was still quite confident of success, and of obliging the English by this means to raise the siege of Louisburgh. M. Desgouttes who commanded the French fleet, did not

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[1] We find a very circumstantial journal of this siege in the *Memoires sur le cap Breton.* One may also consult the *Hist. Phil. & Polit. des Etablissemens des Européens*, vi, p. 241, *et seq.* The condition of the fortifications at Louisburg so distant from Canada, and the weakness of our marine, did not allow us to longer hold this place. It should therefore have been evacuated, and its garrison transported to the continent, where it might have been effectually employed in defence against the English. Had this course been taken, we should also have escaped the loss of several ships of the line.— *Note in Original.*

Louisburgh surrendered on the 26th of July, 1758, to Admiral Edward Boscawen, and General Jeffrey Amherst. The garrison was transported to England.— Ed.

[2] This was M. de Beaussier, captain of a vessel. They have given him here very improperly, the rank of an officer of the blue, probably because he had begun by the port service, then in some way distinct from the military marine.— *Note in Original.*

relish the project, and refused to furnish the means for its execution. This was, without doubt, in the hope of preserving the king's ships. Several were burned in the harbor by the English, who surprised them even in their long-boats. They had taken their armament on shore to use in the defence of the place. When they were about to capitulate, and at a time when the wind kept the English from entering the port, M. de Vaudein wished that the French Squadron might be allowed to depart. He did not succeed, and he escaped with his own vessel and returned to France. All the rest became a prey to the flames or fell into the hands of the enemy.

The English also, during this campaign, sent a detachment of 2,000 men to occupy on the Ohio.

On the 14th of September, 800 Scotch and militia under the orders of two majors, approached at daybreak the borders of the clearing made around Fort Du Quesne without being perceived. The militia major hesitated to attack, but Major Grant, a Scotchman, not wishing to return without achieving any thing, set fire to a hovel near by, to begin an engagement. The Canadians, and some Indians who were lodged in huts around the fort, seeing this unusual fire at daybreak, had the curiosity to run out into the bushes to see what it could be, and so followed one another. As the Indians and Canadians are commonly up in good season they were soon ready. The first who came, perceiving the troops, began to fire.

The English beat their drums, which put those in the fort on the alert, and they soon sent help to those who had first gone out. They pursued this body of the enemy so vigorously, that they took 250 scalps, and 100 prisoners, among whom were six officers and the two majors. The rest were pursued into the woods, where most of them perished.[1]

On the 22d of September, M. Aubry, a captain on the Illinois, left Fort Du Quesne, with a detachment of Canadians and Loup Indians about 600 strong, to reconnoitre the English who were encamped at Royal-

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[1] The army of General Forbes, destined for the attack upon Du Quesne, consisted of 6,850 men; Royal Americans, Montgomery's Highlanders, Virginia and Pennsylvania provincials and wagoners.

"When the Brigadier got as far as Ray's Town, about ninety miles east of Fort du Quesne, he halted with his main body, and detached Lieut. Col. Bouquet, with two thousand men to take post at Loyal Hanning. The Colonel supposing that this force was sufficient to reduce the fort, without any assistance from the General, and eager to secure to himself, the honor of such an achievement, began to think of forming a plan for that purpose. With this view, he detached about eight hundred Highlanders, under Major Grant, of Montgomery's, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks, and make the best observations in his power. The Major, in the execution of these orders, drew his men up on the heights near the fort; and beat a march by way of daring the French to come to an action, in which if he had succeeded, in all probability the fort must have fallen, and then the whole glory would have been his own. The French accepted the challenge; they detached a party to meet him; and a very severe action was the consequence. The Highlanders fought with great bravery for some time, till superior numbers obliged them to give way; and about three hundred of them, including nineteen officers, having been either killed or taken prisoners, with the Major among the latter, the rest fled in disorder, as far back as Loyal Hanning."— *Mante*, p. 156.

Major James Grant, was wounded and taken prisoner upon this

Anon.[1] They found a little camp in front of some intrenchments which would cover a body of 2,000 men. The advance guard of our detachment having been discovered, the English sent a captain and fifty men to reconnoitre, who fell in with the detachment and were entirely defeated. In following the fugitives, the French fell upon this little camp and surprised and dispersed it.[2] The fugitives scarcely gained the principal intrenchment which M. Aubry held in blockade two days. He killed two hundred cattle and horses. Our people returned almost all mounted. They estimated the loss of the enemy at 200 men, while ours was a corporal and two soldiers.

The enemy had another camp at Raiston,[3] where General Forbes, Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Americans, was commander-in-chief. It came to pass that by blundering at Fort Du Quesne they were obliged from want of provisions to abandon it. In the month of October, M. de Lignery, who com-

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occasion. He was subsequently promoted through the intermediate grades, to major general, and served in this capacity in the war against the revolted English colonies that ended with their independence. He afterwards served in the West Indies. He died in Scotland, May 13, 1806.— *N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 903.

The hill that overlooks the city of Pittsburgh is still known as "Grant's Hill."— Ed.

[1] Legonier.— Ed.

[2] A soldier having entered a tent found an officer taking his tea, and said to him: "How is it your comrades are beaten and you here so quiet? You deserve not to live!" He at once killed him with a blow of his hatchet.— *Note in Original.*

[3] Raystown, now Bedford, Pennsylvania.— Ed.

manded at Detroit, sent back some Indians and French, and the Illinois who were there employed to cover that post.

On the 27th of November, M. de Corbiere, a colonial captain, was detached against Loyal-Anon, with 45 Indians, soldiers and Canadians. He met an advance guard which he judged to embrace from 700 to 800 men and attacked them. They fled in disorder to their camp. The French took a hundred scalps and seven prisoners. They pursued the enemy into their intrenchments, when they fired cannon upon them. These events may appear extraordinary, but we may believe them possible if we consider that the English never went out but with trembling, and that when attacked, they could form no judgment of the number of their enemy as the latter were always dispersed and hidden behind trees. The English, on the contrary, did not dare to scatter in an unknown country, and kept together in a body where they were exposed to the fire of men who aimed very steadily.

In a second sortie, M. de Corbiere met the enemy three leagues from Fort Du Quesne. He returned and notified M. de Lignery, who, finding himself reduced in provisions and troops, embarked at once with his artillery, and what remained of his munitions for the Illinois, after distributing his merchandize that was on hand to the Indians of the settlement. He retired himself with them, to Sonnioto, and the

Rock River. M. de Corbiere after burning Fort Du Quesne, went up by land with some Canadians and soldiers to Fort Machault.

The enemy arriving at Fort Du Quesne found everything destroyed.[1] Having noticed in the ruins some calcined bones, probably those of some animals, they supposed that the French had amused themselves in burning their prisoners: — a calumny the most horrible that the hatred of a nation could invent.[2]

We may see by these details that there were many people, as well French as Indians in those parts during this campaign, which led to a great consump-

[1] It was on the 25th of November that the English took possession of these ruins. Gen. Forbes, overcome with his labor, died some time after.— *Note in Original.*

General John Forbes, came to America in 1757 as Lieutenant Colonel in the 17th Regiment of Foot. He was promoted to a Brigadier, Dec. 28, 1757, and died at Philadelphia, March 11, 1759, in the forty-ninth year of his age.— Ed.

[2] "As they approached the fort, the route fell into a long open race-path, where the savage was wont to pass his prisoners through the ordeal of the gauntlet; and here a dismal prospect met their eyes. On either side a long row of naked stakes were planted in the ground, on each of which grimed in decaying ghastliness the severed head of a Highlander killed or captured under Grant, while beneath was insultingly displayed the wretches' kilts. Disgusted and provoked at the scene, the Americans quickened their pace and hastened on. The next moment the 77th came suddenly upon the ground.

One who was present among the advanced provincials, relates, that the first intimation given by the Scots of their discovery of the insulted remains of their butchered brothers, was a subdued threatening murmur, like the angry buzzing of a swarm of bees. Rapidly swelling in violence, it increased to a fierce continuous, low shriek of rage and grief, that none who listened to, would willingly hear again. In this moment, officers as well as men seem to have aban-

tion of supplies. Goods and provisions were therefore always scarce. The commandant was often obliged to buy and repurchase from soldiers and officers the property which had been distributed or sold from the magazine. Several canoe loads of merchandize of different individuals who had received permission to trade, arrived. They were very dear, on account of the distance and scarcity, nevertheless, they could not be better supplied. The loss of Frontenac increased all this disorder, and this was followed by that of Fort Du Quesne which had cost so many millions. We do not think it an exaggeration to say, that the total expense of the past year had been

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doned every sentiment but of quick and bloody vengeance, and inspired by a common fury, cast all discipline to the winds. Their muskets were dashed upon the ground, and bursting from the ranks the infuriated Gael, with brandished claymore, rushed madly forth with hope to find an enemy on whom to accomplish retribution. Startled at the sudden sound of swiftly tramping feet the amazed provincial looked round to see the headlong torrent sweep by, burthening the air with imprecations, and foaming, said he, 'like mad boars engaged in battle.' When we consider the provocation that had excited their noble rage, it is almost a matter of regret, that of all the cruel band there remained not one behind. The fort was in flames, and the last boat of the flying Frenchmen was disappearing in the evening mist that hung around Smoky Island."—*Sargent's Hist. Braddock's Defeat*, p. 273.

General Forbes soon after his occupation of Fort Du Quesne, sent out a party to give burial to the remains of Gen. Braddock's army. Among these the skeleton of Sir Peter Halket was indentified by his son, a major in the service, who accompanied the expedition. The narrative of this incident is beautifully described by Galt in his *Life of Benjamin West*, p. 82. A brother of this celebrated painter was a captain in the service, and was present upon the occasion. A biographical notice of Sir Peter Halket is given in *Sargent's Hist. of Braddock's Expedition*, p. 294.—Ed.

twenty millions. Those who have verified the accounts are in a condition to judge if we are far from the truth.[1] The English recrossed the Alleghany Mountains, leaving a body of 400 or 500 men at Fort Du Quesne, where they began the erection of Fort Pittsburgh, upon the extremity of the clearing of the old fort. They still continued 250 men at Loyal-Anon. They invited our Indians to remain quiet, and let the English fight the French who were dying of hunger, and had no more goods to give them. They replied that they would listen to them after being assured of their own tranquility.

During the last months of this campaign, provisions were already scarce in Canada, although more vessels had arrived from France than in the preceding year. The intendant offered to give to captains 45 livres, and to lieutenants 20 livres in commutation of rations, having no more bread or pork to issue. At the end of this compaign, M. de Lévis took with him M. Pouchot in his bateau, and they visited with M. de Montcalm, the places where the best resistance could be made. M. Pouchot proposed the River Borbue; and they then examined the Isle aux Noix, upon which they finally decided. The troops upon their return to Canada at the end of November, were distributed in the villages above and below Quebec, as far up as

[1] M. Pouchot did not get this high enough. The expenses of this year were the most considerable of the whole war, and amounted to 27,900,000 francs.— *Note in Original.*

the end of the Island of Montreal, leaving at Quebec and Montreal only enough to mount guard.

During this winter, provisions were extremely scarce, and the rations of bread was reduced to a pound and a half, and that of pork to a quarter of a pound. The latter failing, the intendant proposed to issue horse flesh to the troops, which they were obliged to submit to without a murmur. With economy, they were still able to furnish a little pork, but when the ice melted, they were forced to throw it away as spoiled. The contractor was therefore ordered to furnish horses, and he accordingly collected all the jaded nags of the country to feed the troops, so that whenever they saw a horse extremely thin, they called him a *Cadet*.[1]

All the generals served up horse at their tables for sake of the example. M. de Montreuil also ate it sometimes, and offered it to his guests. They asked for it 20 sols the pound, which was only so much in the pocket of M. Péan aid-major of Quebec, who had the insolence to always put it on his own table. May we not call this extremely audacious for a man who had the disposal of every thing in the country, and

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[1] The name of the contractor, who was the most distinguished rascal that ever appeared in America.— *Note in Original.*

General Montcalm in writing to M. Le Normand, says: "Sieur Cadet, is only the *prête-nom* of an over-protected company," and alludes to a concealed contract, and a mysterious management, by which irregular expenses twenty-four millions had been drawn, in 1758.— *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x, 963.— Ed.

who furnished provisions for the troops from the king's millions, to affect this fashion in the presence of officers and soldiers who were suffering in consequence?

Upon these tables there was only served a quarter loaf of bread. If they wished to eat more, they must bring it in their pockets. But otherwise these gentlemen had very good cheer; — but it was the fashion, and they did accordingly.

The French officers sought industriously to find in the homes of the inhabitants, something for their use, and with the force of money procured it. A bushel of grain sold at 45 livres, equal to 30 livres Tournois, and wine, 900 to 1,200 livres the barrel of 220 bottles. Such was the condition of Canada this winter, where many Acadians had taken refuge after the capture of Louisburg. Reduced to four ounces of bread a day, they sought in the gutters of Quebec to appease their hunger. Such was the lot of a party of these colonists, whose attachment to their mother country was only equaled by her indifference. They were allowed to perish miserably, while these odious and infamous traders enriched themselves by the most unheard of embezzlements.

The capitulation of Closter-Seven, and the capture of Louisburg, enabled 27 regiments of veteran troops to pass the winter in New England, including those who had previously arrived.

We learned that the English were seriously en-

gaged upon great projects for the ensuing campaign. They labored to build new forts at Fort George, Oswego and Pittsburgh.

The commandant of the latter post, in a council held with the Indians on the Ohio River, made great excuses for having got embroiled with them, and for having ensanguined their country. He assured them that henceforth he wished to live with them in peace, and he begged them to forget the past, adding that he was not angry at seeing them allied with the French, and that since they had retired, he had no orders to attack them. The English had, as he said, only a little cabin among them, for holding trade, and he wished them to come and see him, as he had little resting places, and they would always find something for their wants. This pathetic discourse greatly surprised the Loups and Chaouanous who replied that before giving an answer, they must ascertain the sentiments of the other Indians, their allies. We may judge from this, that the English did not intend to make any great efforts in that direction.

Johnson also held a great council with the Five Nations. He exorted them to withdraw the Indians from our Missions. He told them that it would be absolutely necessary for them in the spring, to kill Onontio the king of France, and that they were coming to Lake Ontario with ten thousand men to attack all our posts.

To end our account of the events of this campaign,

we will here speak of the unfortunate adventure of the ship L' *Aigle* which left France in June, laden with arms and clothing for the French troops. This vessel of 50 guns was wrecked at Mai-Catinat, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, after having passed the straits of Belle Isle, although fortunately they saved much of her provisions and effects. Being notified at Quebec of this accident, they sent a vessel which was loaded with the wrecked goods. The latter was lost with all that had been saved, and there remained then but a little flour. This was put into a vessel and sent to the post of Mingan, but this vessel was also lost at Kamarouska, and the crew, which from 280 men by these different wrecks was reduced to 80 men, arrived at Quebec nearly all sick.

The officer who commanded the Aigle, was in the following campaign charged with a fire ship detached against the English fleet. He, however, failed to harm any vessel, and his crew all perished except five men.

At the beginning of spring, it was necessary to make provision for flour and pork, as they had taken as much as they could from the inhabitants of the colony. Although they had paid very dearly for these articles for the king, they could not replace them with others, which caused a real distress among them. Being employed in the war during the campaign, they could not cultivate their lands as in common times, and they harvested but a small quantity of grain.

1759. We have noticed in the preceding volume,[1] the fate of merchandize destined for the king at Frontenac. They sought among the merchants and individuals, how to replace it. A little which had escaped the English in its passage from France to Canada, had been sold to merchants and private parties, who had posts to supply in the upper country, and they divided considerable profits among themselves. Finally, those into whose hands these goods had come, sold them to the intendant at the last price current. We may well suppose that the company, and their friends, had foreknowledge of what purchases must be made, and bought up the goods, to the end that they might take measures for being the last to sell to the king. If, to this, we add the manœuvres which occurred at the posts, we may judge to what extraordinary prices every thing must have been carried, and how nice little fortunes must have been made among these brokers. Notwithstanding all these impediments, the means were found to provision the posts as well as could be expected, considering the scarcity of every thing.

We will now return to the military operations. In all the little war parties that went out, they always brought in some English prisoners, who announced the the most extensive preparations against Canada. The commandants of the posts around Lake Ontario, and

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[1] Vol. ii, of the original, begins at this place. — Ed.

on the Ohio, notified M. de Vandreuil of the discontent of the Five Nations, which determined him to send M. Pouchot to take command at Niagara.

M. Pouchot undertook this charge with pain, as he foresaw what must result from the meagre resources of the country. M. de Montcalm was also of his opinion, yet he could not refuse this officer to M. de Vandreuil. They should have given to M. Pouchot 300 French troops, but foreseeing that they must be captured, they only gave him three piquets, amounting to 149 men. In taking leave of him, M. Pouchot said: "It appears that we shall never meet again, except in England."

He left Montreal on the 27th of March, with 157 Canadians, under the orders of M. de Repentegni, a colonial officer. When they had passed four leagues upon Lake St. Francis, he observed that the ice of the lake had separated, and formed a channel in the middle, and at once wrote to M. de Vandreuil, as this fact showed that the river would be soon broken up, and the navigation free at an early day. He took all possible pains to reach the upper end of the lake, but the ice gave way under their feet, and more than thirty Canadians went in, but fortunately by holding on to the ice they got out. As if by miracle none perished.

On the 2d of April, they had got above the Long Saut, and at La Presentation they found bateaux that had been sent to meet them. They embarked, and

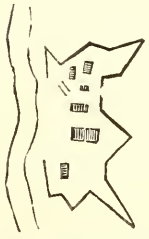
on the 4th they reached Point au Baril,[1] three leagues above La Presentation. He at once visited the creek where they were building two barques, each for ten pieces of twelve pound cannon. They should have been ready to launch, but he found one with its planking, and the other with only the ribs up. He at once caused the laborers to be doubled, and ordered the work to be pushed day and night, while he was himself busy in entrenching this post, which a party might have easily burned with our vessels there.

On the 9th they launched one of the barques, which was named the *Iroquois*.

On the 10th, a courier passed from Detroit, who announced that the Indians from the upper country were coming down to Montreal.

On the 11th, all the bateaux bearing the convoys of provisions and rigging, arrived from Montreal, with detachments of French troops.

On the 12th, the second vessel named the *Outaouaise*, was launched. We may judge from this, what diligence had been used in their con-



[1] Near the present village of Maitland in Canada. The annexed cut gives a plan of the defensive works erected there by Sieur de Cresée, who had been sent thither at the close of 1758 to build two new schooners to replace those that had been lost at Frontenac. He chose this place on account of the convenience of timber. The vessels building here were to be commanded by La Force and La Broquiere, who continued in this service until the final conquest in 1760.— Ed.

struction. They were soon equipped. By two Frenchmen and two Indians of a party which M. Villejohn had lately led towards the Oneida lake, M. Pouchot learned that there was not then any troops at Oswego, and that the English were already in force at the Portage, where they were making all their preparations. The Oneidas told them that Johnson had invited all the Five nations to a council at Onondaga, where their council fire is kindled.[1]

On the 25th, MM. Pouchot, Villars and Cervies, captains of three piquets, departed in the corvettes, with their detachments and with M. de Bonnafoux, an artillery officer.

On the 30th, they arrived at Niagara.

On the 2d and 3d of May, M. Pouchot questioned some prisoners taken upon the Ohio, who gave very clearly exact accounts of the position of the English in those parts. They said that they had 400 to 500 men at Fort Pittsburgh, and 150 at Loyal-Anon, and that all the regular troops had been recalled. These prisoners gave a very good description of these forts.

On the 5th M. de Vassan, commandant at Niagara, being relieved by M. Pouchot, took passage upon the corvettes. On the 9th, M. Pouchot began to work repairing the fort, to which nothing had been done since he left it. He found the ramparts giving way, the turfing all crumbled off, and the escarpment and counter escarpment of the fosses much filled up. He

[1] This signifies their chief place.—*Note in Original.*

also mounted two pieces, to keep up appearances in case of a siege. On the 11th, a party returned from Fort Bull with six scalps. Joncaire, who was with the Five Nations, notified M. Pouchot that the English were on the march, and that the Indians had totally declared themselves for them. During this month, fourteen French ships arrived at Quebec for the commissary, and four frigates.

On the 14th, Pakens, a Missisake, and forty warriors came to form a party. On the 17th, a Sauteur of Saguinan informed us, that the commandant, M. Bellestre was there, and only waited an order from M. Pouchot to come from Detroit, and that he had come to inform him. The succors expected were greatly delayed, and still more than a hundred leagues distant. Langlade, a colonial officer living in the country, was to have come down to Montreal with 1,000 Indians. Of this number, there were some Folles Avoines, who, as we have said, had killed two Frenchmen. They brought with them two of those most culpable in this murder, and delivered them to M. de Vandreuil, in an assembly where they covered these bodies. M. de Vaudreuil gave them back to do justice, and they slew them with their arms, the first event of the kind on the part of the Indians since Europeans had lived in the country. Finally, all the nations of Upper Canada decided to leave, and to descend by way of the Great river and Presque isle.

On the 17th there arrived a large deputation of the

Senecas, composed of all their chiefs. They brought the words of the Loups of Théaogen, who were our friends in 1757, saying they were in the way to come and see their father *Sategariouaen*,[1] but that a Seneca chief had barred the road by a belt,—a ceremony to deter them from coming to the French.

M. Pouchot reproached these chiefs for their little zeal to serve the French, after all the care they had taken of them, and which was different from the treatment they had received from Johnson. He reproached them for having sent belts to the Hurons and Outaouais to separate them from the French. These belts say: "My brothers,[2] and cousins[3] we see ourselves dead. The English and the French have stained our thresholds with blood. They are so great that we are crushed. Regard us as dead. But the smoke of our bones shall spread over you, and over all the nations of America, and you in your turn shall mourn. We invited you to take us by the hand, to defend your homes and your lives, but you counted nothing upon us, we are dead."[4]

On the 18th, five Missisakes arrived from Carillon, who brought a scalp, and reported that there were a

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[1] This word signifies "the midst of good affairs," and had been given to M. Pouchot by the Five Nations.— *Note in Original.*

[2] The Hurons.— *Ib.*

[3] The Outaouais.— *Ib.*

[4] They understood by this that they were restricted by the posts and armies of the French and English.— *Ib.*

great many people at Fort George, and a large number of bateaux. A prisoner taken on the 21st of April, said, that the English were very weak in their posts on the Ohio, having lost many by sickness caused by bad provisions. At Loyal-Anon, there remained only 100 men fit for service. On the 20th, a courier of the Illinois arrived, bearing from France dispatches to our generals and the intendant.

During this month, M. de Langis, burned 500 barges and the English barque upon Lake George, and took or killed forty men who were guarding them.

We had been notified from France, that an English fleet had sailed on the first days of February, to besiege Quebec with 10,000 men, embarked under the orders of General Wolf. An army of 25,000 was to penetrate Canada by way of Lake George, under General Amherst, who was to send a detachment by way of Lake Ontario.

A force of 3,000 men, French, colonial soldiers and militia, under the orders of M. de Bourlamaque was detached to cover Carillon. The rest of our forces under MM. de Vaudreuil, de Montcalm and de Lévis, went down to Quebec, to oppose the English fleet. The posts on the lakes and the Ohio, had no other succor within reach, than such as we have above noticed.

We will begin our account of this campaign, with the events at Carillon. Early in July, General Amherst left with a body of 12,000 to 14,000 men from Fort George, and disembarked at camp of Contre-

Cœur.[1] He approached the entrenched camp at Carillon which was abandoned, and M. de Bourlamaque fell back upon St. Frederic, leaving a garrison in Fort Carillon to cover his retreat. The enemy took some cannon to the heights near the intrenchments, and battered the fort, which was soon evacuated after the greater part had got out. Only a few men were captured in this retreat. M. de Bourlamaque, then blew up Fort St. Frederic, and retired to the Isle aux Noix in the river St. John, where he had already intrenched.

General Amherst established himself at St. Frederic, where he began a fort and entrenched camp. This frontier remained very quiet during this campaign, after this event, and only a few scalps were taken from the English. In October, the English attempted to come along down by the River St. John. A body of 5,000 to 6,000 men landed, and advanced below the Isles of Quatre Vents, where they were struck so violently by a gale of wind, that the enemy lost some bateaux, which so disgusted them that they returned.[2]

M. Pouchot in leaving Montreal, had been ordered to fall back upon the posts on the Ohio, in case he

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[1] On the 21st of July, the force embarked was 11,133. The details are given by *Mante*, p. 210.—Ed.

[2] The French had been forced to abandon the lake after having lost two war vessels by shipwreck. Gen. Amherst also labored to open a road leading from Carillon or Ticonderoga, to the provinces of New Hampshire and Massachusetts.— *Note in Original.*

had certain knowledge that he would be attacked. Having no news that the enemy had descended the Oswego River, he thought there could be no danger in sending some troops and officers with their provisions and goods destined for the fort of Presque Isle, or Machault, where M. de Lignery commanded. He hastened the departure of a convoy for that portage, having projected, upon the information he had received of the state of the enemy, a plan for destroying the Forts of Loyal-Anon and Pittsburgh. After sending this expedition, this post had nothing to fear. All the troops and succors destined for it were assembled at Niagara to maintain that post. The minds of the Indians were then in agitation, for or against the French. Those of the Ohio, invited those of Detroit to ally themselves with those of Sandusky, and the latter wished to hear nothing without the consent of M. de Vaudreuil.

Some Hurons and Iroquois, who had been at Fort Pittsburgh, formerly Du Quesne, reported that they had met four Indians of the Flat-Head nation, our enemies, who told them to defy the English, who sought only to embroil them, and to destroy one after another, after they had driven off the French, and that several of them had gone to make up parties against the English with whom they were then at war.[1]

[1] M. Pouchot here doubtless speaks of the general rising of the Ohio Indians, and those of the upper country which happened in 1763–4, which was intended to drive the English from the interior of North America.—*Note in Original.*

Several nations had been at Pittsburgh for council. The commandant, (who was still Forbes[1]) had spoken with arrogance. "When I came to this country," said he, "I thought some one would oppose me. But those whom I found, fled like frogs when you throw a stick at them. You Indians, have always let the French cheat you for a piece of tobacco as long as your finger. You have taken up the hatchet, and when you lose a man you will weep a whole year. That is not our way, and we learn to lose an army or a battle, with as much cheerfulness as if we won. We wish to hold you with the same friendship we had for your ancestors when we first came to your country, but if you mingle again with the French, you will be dead, and we shall strike on every side." The Indians replied to him; "The French, brothers,[2] are a hundred times braver than you are, your pride deserves no other reply," and at once left him.

Some Iroquois told the Hurons, that in the words addressed to them,[3] there were some things so well enveloped, that they had not the sagacity to understand them, and which got no further than to the chiefs. They added that they had resolved to keep their country quiet, and that they wished first to drive off the French, who were the bravest, and then the

[1] This is an error, Gen. Forbes had died in March preceding.— Ed.

[2] They always addressed the English by this term, while they used that of father, in speaking to the French.— *Note in Original.*

[3] We have made mention above of some belts.— *Note in Original.*

English. The Hurons replied; "Take care what you do, brother Iroquois: Who can hold the French, and when you become strong enough to drive them, then the northern nations will come, and say to you 'come, get up, we have come with the hatchet which you sent to kill our fathers' enemies.' Then what will you reply? Take care brothers and dont do any thing foolish." M. Pouchot blamed this advice to the Iroquois, who had carried the word to Sandusky before a great Huron chief. The Iroquois denied having ever thought of such an explanation. The Huron chief replied: "He was not astonished that they had made these proposals at Sandusky, which was a fire kindled without any consent of the nation, and that there were there only blunderers and evil doers who are always engaged in mischief, but that his nation had firmly promised to listen to nothing that came from that place, as they could judge by the belts which had been sent to M. Bellestre, and that they did not wish to reply."

On the 28th of May, there came to Niagara four Tonniac chiefs and 33 Cayugas, to council. M. Pouchot blamed them for having sent belts to turn the nations from our friendship. They replied by a belt. "It is true father, that we have no courage. We thank you for recalling us. We well know all the evil that we do, but no one is more embarrassed than ourselves. The French draw us one way, and the English the other. Both of you give us very

plausible reasons. The English tell us to defy the French who are courageous, and who endeavor to deceive us by adroit words. Each nation loads us with presents. As for ourselves we know this, that the Master of Life gave the Island of America to the Indians who inhabit it. We do not understand the pretensions of the English and the French, we do not know the secret motive which leads them to make war. Our true intention is, to remain neutral, you are both so great that we see ourselves crushed however we may do. The English who are always wanting warriors, draw us to them by brandy and large presents, yet we have positively forbidden to go with them, and complain when we know that they do. You French also wish us to go, but we are well content to remain. You may judge by our relations who have all been to war for you." They could not have expressed these sentiments in a more artless manner. After having asked for some strings to mend their implements they said: "Father, we know that the English stole Cataracoui, but it was not our fault, as we notified you of it. If we learn that the English are planning any thing against you, we notify you at once, so that you may not be surprised. We beg you to attach a blade of Indian corn round your nipples, so that the milk shall not flow, and that we may talk quietly upon good things."

This Tonniac was really attached to the French. He was a man of much sense, and of influence with

his nation, but the bad general had gained him over, and he was perverted. Fearing that some Iroquois partisan of the English should do something foolish in the fort, he forbade his comrades from drinking. It was the only time these Indians had refused, and we gave it to them notwithstanding.

On the first of June, the detachments and munitions for the Ohio, departed under the orders of M. de Montigny. M. Pouchot sent by him a letter to M. de Lignery, of which we here give an extract, which will develop some of the events which follow:

"You observe that M. de Montigny now joins you. The difficulties of the portage has delayed him until now, but he has surmounted them. He carries with him a supply of flour sufficient to enable you to provide for the succor of the Illinois. I have put it in sacks, on account of the difficulty of carrying it at the portages, where wagons might be stopped. I have wished to send these provisions by M. de Montigny, so that each officer might have a part in charge in each bateaux, and see that it was safely covered, so that it might arrive in as good condition as it was sent.

I have also sent an assortment of forty bales of merchandize in good order, and ten cases of guns.[1] I have added three hundred shovels, pick-axes and

[1] M. Pouchot also added two 4 pound field guns, that they might take with them by the Ohio river to Pittsburgh. They had draft horses in that region. — *Note in Original.*

axes, which are articles indispensable in war, and of which I supposed you might have but a small supply, as they were carried from Fort Du Quesne on foot.

You will find but few blankets. I have sent but two bales, as there has been considerable trade with the nations who come to fight with us, and they took them off. The rest of the assortment is very good. I have selected the bales least damaged, the surplus being mostly spoiled. I flatter myself sir, that you will maintain a frequent correspondence with me. You know that I shall procure all the aid that depends upon me, as well for the good of the service, as to oblige you, but I am extremely poor at present.

M. Pouchot also sent to M. de Lignery, what he had learned by the courier from the Illinois, that three hundred men under the orders of M. Aubrey and the Chevalier Villiers, had arrived, with two or three hundred thousand of flour which they had left at the Miami portage, and that they would ask of M. de Port-neuf, commandant at Presque Isle, to take charge of the portage, and send it constantly in his bateau. He then came to the operations of the campaign, according to the project which had been planned upon the information had of the state of the English on the Ohio.

"Upon the return, sir, of your war parties, you will be informed of the actual condition of the enemy from

Raiston to Fort Pittsburgh. According to the report of your last prisoners, I see they are more in disorder than in this direction, and with very slight hope of receiving any considerable aid.

I pray you to take what I have the honor to here say to you as the advice of a true friend. If sometimes they do not think of everything, they may at least have some new idea.

"According to the accounts above noticed, it appears, sir, that you may even be able to attempt an offensive operation. I have asked M. de Montigny upon his arrival at Presque Isle, to have you send a French officer and some of the most active French men you can find to make discoveries on the roads and at the posts of Loyal-Anon[1] and Pittsburgh, with the view of action upon their report.

In his instructions, it would be proper to order him to examine the routes, the places proper to encamp, the defiles suitable for the ambuscade of convoys, the slopes of mountains and the rivers which it would be necessary to cross, or which would facilitate the false movements of our detachments.

This officer should also examine with care, the extent of their forts, the kind of works by which they are defended, the portions that may be unfinished, the heights which command them, or upon which it would

[1] Loyal-Hannon, afterwards Fort Légonier was on the east side of the creek of that name in the town of Ligonier, Westmoreland Co., Pa. — *Penn. Archives*, xii, 389. — Ed.

be possible to gain position, either to fire into the fort, or to blockade them. Should you be in condition, sir, to march with all your force, as I hope will be the case, it will be convenient to carry with you the tools I send you, so as to be able the first night to open entrenchments either an abattis of trees, or a trench in which the earth should be thrown towards the fort. This trench, as you know, should be as near as possible to the fort, from whence it would be most easy to incommode the enemy in his place, and at the same time cut off all communication.

If the enemy is unprepared they will be surprised, and probably would capitulate as soon as summoned, especially when told that an attack would at once be made, and that it would be impossible to restrain the savages, who were excited as after the capitulation of Fort George. The great number of Indians which they would see with you, would doubtless give weight to this demand. If you should be so fortunate as to take Loyal-Anon, you ought to expect that all the posts from Raiston to the Ohio would fall of themselves, as they would find themselves abandoned by their own forces, and with no hope of receiving any supplies.

"I believe, sir, in view of the state of things, that this operation is very practicable at this juncture. If I had the honor to command in that region, I would certainly attempt to do something useful and brilliant. If these posts are what we suppose they are, they

would doubtless fall. If troops should be sent into those parts, it might even be well to go and fight them in such places on their route as you might select, or if they were too strong to attack, allow them to pass, and then fall upon their convoys, which would reduce them to the greatest misery. Such, in general, are the reflections that I offer upon the operations of your campaign, which, if attempted, should be done as lightly and quickly as possible, as well to avoid the defection of the Indians, as on account of the provisions which are to come from this direction, which is seriously menaced. The little movement which the enemy has made, ought, it appears to me, to give at least two months of rest. This is therefore the time which we shall have to undertake whatever you may deem most practicable."

An Iroquois coming from Albany notified Joncaire,[1] who was among the Five Nations, that two parties of those Indians were being formed to attack La Presentation and Niagara, to avenge the death of two Mohawks killed by our Indian parties. M. Pouchot who was well convinced that the Iroquois had decided against us, had wished to withdraw his friends and the Canadians who were with them, but the anxiety they felt to trade upon their ventures which his countryman,

[1] This colonial captain was a half Indian Canadian living among that nation, and possessing much influence. He and his brother Chabert had more than sixty relatives and children which they or their father had among them. — *Note in Original.*

La Miltiere, an officer of Languedoc, had brought, prevented them from returning. La Miltiere and the French were taken by these Indian parties, and Joncaire was forced to save himself at Niagara.

Some Cayuga chiefs notified M. Pouchot, that Johnson had decided their nation by large belts to follow him, and had invited our nations to imitate the Iroquois, and that we could not let our soldiers go out lest they should be taken by the parties which they were going to send out. As they were going to make up a considerable one to pillage the fort at the portage, M. Pouchot sent one hundred men to cover it and plant stockades. Meanwhile several families of Senecas assured this officer that they wished to remain at Niagara, as they were of that country. He was not averse to this, as he regarded them as a kind of safeguard against parties of hostile Indians, who were cautious about making reprisals upon their own race.

On the 17th, some Onondagas arrived with scalps taken by a party of the Five Nations in the direction of Loyal-Anon, from a convoy of sixteen wagons laden with provisions for the enemy, and escorted by one hundred men, of whom twenty-seven were killed, three taken prisoners, and the remainder dispersed in the woods. The wagons were burned and eighty-four horses were captured. This party was under the orders of M. St. Blin. We may judge from this, how much the Iroquois Indians retained their preference for us, and that nothing but fear of the English had

determined these nations to declare for them. Meanwhile these Indians executed the general will of the nation with as much order as the best governed nations, and with more secresy. In May and June, trade was very brisk from the arrival of Indians from all parts of America, who came to visit their father *Sategariouaen*. While the trade of Niagara had in common years not exceeded one hundred and fifty packets, it amounted in these two months to more than seven or eight hundred. We may infer from this, how much it would have been if the country had been tranquil; because these Indians only came with hesitation, and constantly stood in fear of the Five Nations, and of the arrival of the English.

M. Pouchot dispatched a courier to notify M. de Cobiéres, who was at Frontenac, M. de la Corne at La Presentation, and M. de Vaudreuil, of the affair with La Miltiere, that they might be on their guard against the Iroquois. Meanwhile the Senecas of Sonnechio sent belts to M. Pouchot, making excuses for the seizure of La Miltiere, among them. M. Pouchot endeavored through M. Chabert, a colonial officer and brother of Joncaire, who was highly esteemed by the Iroquois, to induce the Iroquois chiefs to come to a council at Niagara, and to break with Johnson. He was advised about this time, that some Loups and Chaouanons, seeing the arrival of the detachment sent to join M. de Lignery, had asked that the French should at once go and attack the Fort at Pittsburgh.

He only detached M. Marin, Rocheblave, three Canadians and two hundred and eighty Indians, to go and insult these forts. They found them in very poor condition, and could have taken them had they been stronger in French.

On the 27th, a troop of Missisakes, whom M. Pouchot had sent to observe the English at Oswego, returned. These Indians had gone upon the barque *Outaouaise*, which was caught by a gale of wind, so fiercely, that its main mast and bowsprit were broken.[1] They were obliged to run down to La Presentation for some time, which prevented them from cruising before the Oswego river, to discover the movements of the English. The Missisakes were with M. Blainville a colonial cadet. They only went up three or four leagues, and found nothing. Had they gone up two leagues higher to the Falls, they would have found the English busy in passing that portage. The news that the enemy was not at Oswego, led M. Pouchot to hope that he might still be quiet for some time, as he supposed that the English before coming to Niagara, would stop to form a depot at Oswego, and would be obliged to entrench, but this they did not do.

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[1] It was remarkable that these Indians who had never encountered a tempest in a vessel, were greatly frightened, and threw their ornaments, arms and tobacco overboard to appease the Manitou of the lake. There happened to be a Canadian on board, who was a mere dwarf in stature. The Indians who had never seen so small a man, took him for a Manitou, and could scarcely be restrained from killing and throwing him overboard like another Jonah. — *Note in Original.*

On the 29th, a courier from Presque Isle announced that one hundred French and one hundred and fifty Indians would soon arrive from Detroit; six or seven hundred Indians with M. Lintot, a hundred Indians with M. Rayeul, and also the convoy of M. Aubry from Illinois, with a party of six or seven hundred from the Mississippi. There would consequently be required a large amount of provisions to receive them. Some Indians from Michilimackinac arrived the same evening, saying, that M. M. la Verranderie and Langlade were coming down by the great river, with twelve hundred Indians, Cristinaux, Sioux, Sakis, Folles-Avoines, Sauters and Reynards. If we attend to all these details, we may judge that there ought to be expected a happy reunion. We shall soon see what they all amounted to.

On the 6th of July the *Iroquoise*, at four o'clock in the afternoon, entered the river, and M. Pouchot learned by this corvette, that there were then no English at Oswego. If they had cruised on the route, and approached the southern shore of the lake, they would surely have discovered the enemy who were moving in barges close under the shore.[1] If they had perceived them, they might, with their ten or twelve guns, have stopped or destroyed this army on its march.

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[1] General Prideaux's army consisted of the 44th and 46th Regiments, 4th Battalion of Royal Americans, two battalions of New York troops, a detachment of the Royal Artillery, and a large body of Indians under Gen. Johnson. — Ed.

The English would have found it very difficult to fire, and could neither have advanced or retreated. It was unfortunate, as these vessels had only been armed for this use. The gale of wind which had disabled the other, also contributed to this failure. Although one had to run out of its course, the other should have remained to cruise.

The same day at six o'clock, a soldier hunting pigeons in the clearing met some Indians, who seized two of his comrades. He at once ran to notify M. Pouchot, who sent out ten men to reconnoitre, supported by fifty men. These people marched carelessly, as they thought it was only a party of Indians, when several of them found themselves surrounded, and exposed to the fire of more than two hundred muskets. Five were taken and two wounded. M. Pouchot had advised this piquet not to get too much engaged, judging that the party was not equal. He called them back, after having fired some volleys of cannon at the enemy. They replied by regular volleys from behind covert, which gave the impression that these troops were regulars, and that they were in force. M. Pouchot this night posted guards to occupy the outposts.

It is necessary to here enter into some details upon the condition of the place at the time of the siege. M. Pouchot had then finished repairing the ramparts. The batteries of the bastions which were en barbette, had not yet been finished. They were built of casks filled with earth. He had, since his arrival, constructed

PLAN OF FORT NIAGARA

BUILT AND DEFENDED BY M. POUCHOT.

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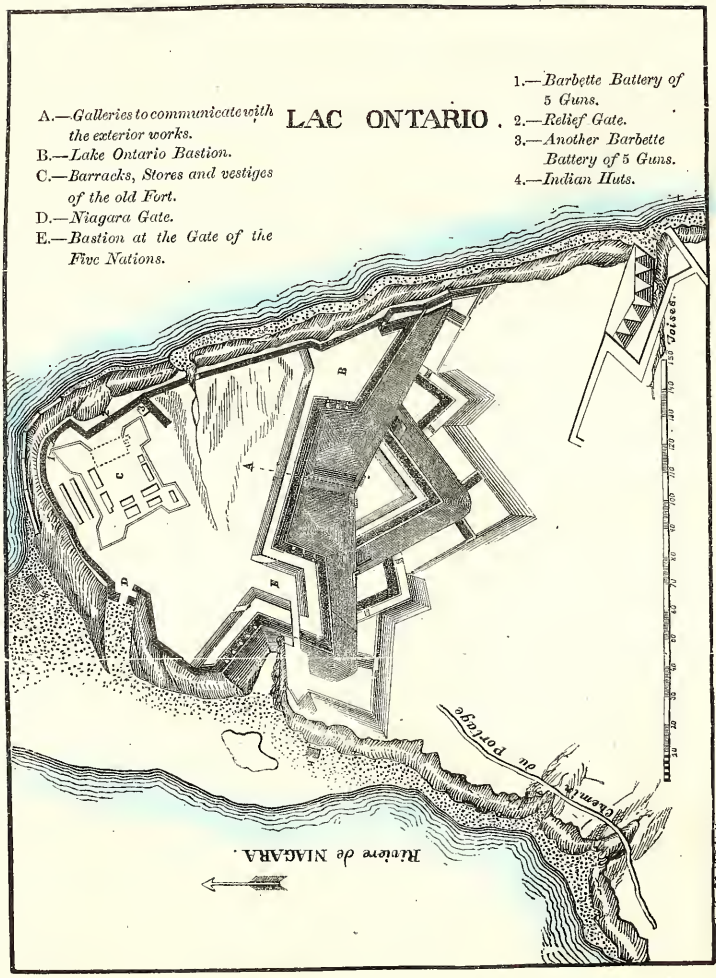
A.—Galleries to communicate with the exterior works.
B.—Lake Ontario Bastion.
C.—Barracks, Stores and vestiges of the old Fort.
D.—Niagara Gate.
E.—Bastion at the Gate of the Five Nations.
LAC ONTARIO.
1.—Barbette Battery of 5 Guns.
2.—Relief Gate.
3.—Another Barbette Battery of 5 Guns.
4.—Indian Huts.
Toises.
Chemin du Portage
Riviere de NIAGARA.

PLAN OF FORT NIAGARA,

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NIAGARA
ONTARIO
A
B
C
D
E

some pieces of blindage of oak fourteen inches square and fifteen feet long, which extended behind the great house on the lake shore, the place most sheltered for a hospital. Along the faces of the powder magazine, to cover the walls and serve as casemates, he had built a large store house with the pieces secured at the top by a ridge. Here the arms and gunsmiths were placed. We may remark that this kind of work is excellent for field forts in wooded countries, and they serve very well for barracks and magazines. A bomb could only fall upon an oblique surface, and could do little harm, because this structure is very solid.

The garrison consisted of one hundred and forty-nine men, detached from the regiments of Sarre, Royal-Roussillon, Guienne and Béarn, under the orders of M. Pouchot, captain of Béarn, commandant of the place, De Villars, captain of Sarre, De Cervies, captain of Royal-Roussillon, De Morumbert, lieutenant of Guienne, Salvignac, lieutenant of Béarn, La Miltiere, lieutenant of Languedoc, and one hundred and eighty-three men of colonial companies under the orders of M. De La Roch, colonial captain, De Cornoyer and Larminac, lieutenants, and one hundred and thirty-three militia, and twenty-one cannoniers under the orders of M. Bonnefoux, a lieutenant of the Royal corps. This number was increased by M. Pouchot to a hundred men drawn from the most skillful troops and militia, the whole amounting to four hundred and eighty-six soldiers and thirty-nine employees, of whom five were

women or children. They served in the infirmary, as did also two Douville ladies, and sewed cartridge bags, and made bags for earth.

On the 7th, seven barges appeared under the steep shores of the lake to reconnoitre the place. We allowed them to collect and approach, and when we noticed that they were not coming any nearer, we fired some cannon which quickly made them gain the open lake. M. Pouchot at once sent a bateau to make discoveries. It reported having observed fifteen or twenty barges, each with twenty men, entering the Little Marsh. M. Pouchot thought that this might be an advance guard of the English army, and immediately sent out a second scout under the orders of the lieutenant of the barque. He reported having seen a number of barges and a camp upon the shore where there appeared a great number of men, and many fires upon the land. Another scout, sent out two hours later, reported that it had seen about sixteen barges and a single tent, but a great many people who were walking on shore. The barges had all entered the Little Marsh, and the army lay encamped in the woods.

M. Pouchot sent a courier immediately to M. Chabert, commandant of the fort at the portage, ordering him to fall back upon Chenondac,[1] should he have any knowledge of the enemy near his fort, lest he

[1] Chippewa creek, on the opposite side of the Niagara.— Ed.

should be taken off. This courier also carried orders to send hither all the detachments of French and Indians that were then at Presque Isle, and orders, to M. de Lignery at Fort Machault, to fall back to Niagara with all the French and Indians he might have. He directed them to form a small advance-guard, to observe if the little fort was abandoned, and in that event to pass by Chenondac to come and join at Niagara, leaving only a detachment to cover their bateaux and effects.

At noon, he sent out the corvette *Iroquoise*, with a month's provisions, to cruise towards the Little Marsh. The wind was S. and S. W. She cannonaded the enemy's camp. During the day, some scouts appeared near a copse, two or three feet high, although M. Pouchot had caused a part of it to be cut away since his arrival. Several Indians also appeared, who sought opportunities to fire, but a few discharges of cannon made them retire.

In the evening, a Pouteoutamis Indian and a Sauteur arrived from the fort at the Portage, and M. Pouchot proposed to them to go during the night on a scout. He gave to them as a companion a Huron who was in the fort. They went along the steep bank of the lake to the great woods at the end of the clearing,[1] and then returned across the middle of it, without finding any thing.

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[1] They call these clearings *deserts*, in Canada.— *Note in Original.*

An hour before day, the Pouteoutamis, who was very brave, returned thither alone. He followed the steep bank of the lake to the bend which it takes in front of that place, and met a canoe in which were three men. He fired upon the middle one and wounded him. The other two fired their guns without effect and fled. He made the tour of the clearing, and defied the enemy's Indians by many bravados.

On the 8th, M. Pouchot sent him back with two Frenchmen to M. Chabert with a letter. Being troubled about the situation, they sent back one, when a league off, to inform him that they had seen the tracks of some forty men in the woods. As these tracks came from up the river, M. Pouchot feared that some of the enemy had crossed over, and was concerned about those who were to come on that side. He sent a scout to examine the woods, but they found nothing for the distance of a league.

At noon, he signalled to the corvette to send ashore the shallop. The lieutenant, who came, said, that the enemy had formed a camp upon a little eminence on this side of the Little Marsh to cover their bateaux, and that they appeared to be between three and four thousand men, who were working much on the side of the clearing by the lake shore, and were building an abattis at which four hundred men appeared to be engaged. M. Pouchot suspected that this might be the place where they were making their depot for the French. The artillery of the corvette so troubled

them that they were forced to quit their camp and seek shelter. They fired twelve pound cannon at that vessel. M. Pouchot ordered the corvette to take position in front of the entrance of the Little Marsh, as well to stop the convoys from entering, as the bateaux, from coming out to carry their artillery to their depot, distant a league and a quarter from the marsh, which would prolong their labors. He ordered the captain of the vessel, if overtaken by the wind, to come into the river and approach the shoal under the fort. These precautions would oblige the enemy to perform all their operations by land, and would so cover the place that it could not be easily insulted from the side of the lake or the river.

In the afternoon some hundreds of Indians appeared in the copse of the clearing, who came to fire upon the fort. They were driven off by the artillery loaded with grape shot, and some of them were killed. At sunset, M. Pouchot sent to take from the other side of the river a Frenchman and two Indians. The former was a brother of the store keeper, who had been sent to raise some Missisake Indians, and returned with only one. The others had gone away when they saw the little fort burnt, which we supposed had been done by the English. The other Indian was an Iroquois sent by M. Chabert,[1] who in a letter informed

[1] M. Chabert had charge of the Niagara portage. The king should have furnished goods at a suitable price to pay his expenses. This officer had gained much by having at the market price, goods that

that he would arrive the next day. He had removed up Chenondac river all the effects that he could, with twenty horses which belonged to him and some cattle that had been sent on his account from Detroit. He burned the fort at the portage, as this post was no longer tenable. His brother Joncaire had arrived in the evening before, conducted by the Iroquois who had brought the letter. M. Pouchot made him a present.

About ten o'clock, a white flag appeared in the clearing, and M. Pouchot sent out to meet it with caution. They brought in a captain of the Royal Americans,[1] with his eyes bandaged, and led him through the thickest and most encumbered brush wood. He produced in the room of the commandant, after the bandage was removed, a letter from Brigadier general Prideaux, in which he said, the king of England having given him the government of Fort Niagara, had sent him thither, if necessary to compel its surrender by the superior forces he had with him. M. Pouchot replied, that he did not understand the English, and that he had no reply to make.

He had, however, well understood the letter. The

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cost the king more and more daily, which made his profits very great. But otherwise we may be sure no officer has shown more zeal for the good of the service, and he was a man well accredited and essential in America for managing the Indians, and even above Johnson in the confidence of the Five Nations.— *Note in Original.*

[1] Named Blaine.— Ed.

officer insisted upon the strength of his forces. M. Pouchot replied, that the king had entrusted him with the place, which he found himself in condition to defend; that he hoped M. Prideaux could never enter it, and that at least before he made any terms with him, he wished an opportunity of gaining their esteem. He invited the officer to breakfast, and then sent him back with his eyes bandaged and the way he came.

In the afternoon, La Force, commandant of the corvette, sent to say to M. Pouchot, that he saw no more barges on the beach, nothing more of the depot, and but few people on the bank. Upon this information, M. Pouchot sent a sergeant in a bateau, who went up on the other side of the river, and reported having seen many men at work at La Belle-Famille.[1] From this it was thought they would begin opening a trench that night. In the evening, some men appeared in their shirt sleeves upon the edge of the clearing to the right of the place, who appeared about to begin work on the trenches. We fired three or four cannon and they retired, as this showed them this was not the place where they thought of beginning their trench.

The great tranquility of the enemy, this day, made us suspect their operations. M. Pouchot therefore

[1] This place is a short eighth of a league from the fort, upon the right bank of the river, above the fort, and very convenient to make fascines, there not being any small wood among the larger trees of the forest.—*Note in the Original.*

placed M. Villars, captain of Sarre in the demi-lune with sixty men; M. de Morambert, a lieutenant with 30 men in the strong hold entrenched by the covered way on the left; — M. Cornoyer, a lieutenant with 30 men in that on the right; and M. de Cervies a captain with 76 men occupied from the salient angle of the covered way of the lake bastion, to the salient angle of the covered way to the demi-lune. M. de Larminac, a lieutenant, with 40 men, occupied the beach below the bank of the lake bastions, behind the palisade and M. De la Roche, a captain, with 30 men, was posted at the salient angle of the covered way of the bastion of the Five Nations. Upon the platoon below this salient, behind the palisade which comes from the river, M. Chabert was stationed with 60 men and upon each bastion there were posted 25 men.

These different posts furnished all the sentinels necessary. The hundred cannoniers were distributed among the batteries. There remained only M. Bonnafoux, artillery officer, and M. de Salvignac, a lieutenant of Béarn, performing the duties of Major. Such was the disposition of all parties during every night of the siege. During the day, we sought to relieve the soldiers, to enable them to gain a little sleep, or they were occupied in the different fatigue duties which the operations of the siege required.

During this night, M. Pouchot sent a detachment of thirty volunteer scouts, of whom three or four were Indians, who issued by the right center and left.

They fired upon some enemy Indians who had crept up to a cemetery about fifty toises from the glacis. A Huron of the detachment from the right, getting separated was wounded by one of our Indians in attempting to rejoin his detachment.

On the 10th it rained, with a fog at daybreak, which prevented us from observing the field most of the day. We then perceived a parallel of more than 300 toises which beginning at about the middle of the front of the fortifications, extended to the left on the side towards the lake. They began in a spot rather low, and ordinarily covered by the lake, but now dry in consequence of a great drouth which facilitated the opening of the trench that the English would have otherwise been obliged to begin further off.

We battered both ends of this parallel with four pieces of cannon, although it rained quite hard. The enemy appeared to labor with ardor. In the night, we fired cannon on the left, as we thought they would try to prolong their work upon that side. At noon, M. Chabert and Joncaire, his brother, arrived with seventy persons, several of them women, and some Indians. Three were Iroquois, among whom was the chief Kaendaé. The Indians were very quiet.

On the morning of the 11th, we observed that this parallel was a little extended to the left, and we fired upon it vigorously. They did not venture to push it further, but during the day labored to perfect it, and we observed that they were at work on the batteries.

We incommoded them as much as possible with our artillery.

In the afternoon, M. Pouchot, wishing to remove some stockades which were between the parallel and the glacis, to form some embrasures, detached a few men to support those who were to bring back these pickets. They pressed forward of their own accord, as far as the height at the head of the enemy's trenches, and were followed by sixty men who escaped from the covered way, and fired even into the boyau of the trench. The enemy, who were counting upon our small numbers, were not upon their guard, and abandoned the head of their works. A man ran to notify M. Pouchot, that they found no one there, but knowing better than this he ordered him to go and tell M. de la Roche, who was allowing himself to be decoyed on, to return with his troops. During this interval, all the soldiers and militia sprang over the palisades of the covered way to follow the others, notwithstanding the efforts of their officers. The garrison was on the point of being engaged with the whole English army, for at this moment their Indians, who were at least 900, and all their troops hastened to put themselves in line of battle at the head of their trench.

By the precaution of the officers, they were so fortunate as not to get too much engaged. We restrained the enemy by a very sharp artillery fire, which prevented them from charging upon our people.

The English, however, did not themselves fail to sustain much loss, and were forced to find shelter. This led them to again rest on their arms till night.

This adventure led to a very singular affair. Kaendaé the Iroquois chief, asked leave to go out to speak to the Indians of his nation. M. Pouchot thought he ought not to deny him, but rather hoped, through the aid of this Indian, to at least induce some of the Senecas to abandon their army. The Iroquois accepted this parley, at the end of the clearing, and the result was, that the Five Nations sent two deputies to M. Pouchot, to learn his views concerning themselves. They demanded a safe conduct upon the word of M. Joncaire, whom they regarded as one of their chiefs. They were led with their eyes blinded into the room of the commandant, when he recognized the nephew of Tonniac, who had left five or six days before the arrival of the English. These deputies said they did not know how they had got involved in this war, and that they were ashamed of it. M. Pouchot asked them what occasion for war he whom they had named Sategariouaen (The midst of good affairs), had given them, and said that he had never deceived them. He expressed his surprise at seeing the Iroquois in the English army, and among them many who had shown him great affection; that they could judge from his manner of fighting that he would not spare his enemies, and his heart bled at the thought that he might strike some others besides the whites against whom

he fought. He invited them to mingle no more in their quarrels, and he assured them that nothing was nearer his heart than this. He ended by saying, that all the upper nations were coming constantly to his aid, and should they find themselves bent upon shedding their blood, he promised to interpose his authority to induce them to make peace. He gave them a great belt to carry these words to their nation.

The Missisakes who were present, wished also in turn to speak. They expressed to the Iroquois the pleasure they felt at hearing words of reconciliation, that their nation which was numerous, would be pleased with it, and they invited them never again to quit the hand of their father. They were ready, on their part to die with him, leaving to their nation to avenge their deaths.

The Pouteotamis said to them, "Uncles,[1] the Master of Life has placed us all on this Island, (America). Who has more spirit than our ancestors? Did they not first take the French by the hand? Why are we not allied with them? We do not know the English. We are pleased to see you are inclined to live well with our father. This is the way for us to never quit each others hands." These harangues lasted until nine o'clock in the evening, when we sent the deputies out with their eyes band-

[1] A term of respect, marking the degree of affinity between these two nations.— *Note in original.*

aged. They promised to return on the morrow and bring their reply.

This interview had suspended the fire on both sides. The enemy took advantage early in the night, to open a boyau of about forty toises, which they would not perhaps have otherwise attempted. This proved a lesson for M. Pouchot.

On the 12th, we discovered at daybreak, at a distance of 200 toises, a mound of earth of considerable size which appeared to have been formed for a battery. We battered it with eleven pieces of artillery with considerable effect. They did not venture to press any sap, as they were vigorously assailed whenever they wished to attempt it.

In the morning, Kaendaé again asked leave to go out and hold a council with the chiefs of his nation. M. Pouchot did not offer to oppose him, but gave notice, that he should not suspend any of his operations, because the whites would take advantage of this interval to labor. He added, that if his associates were determined to come to him, that they should carry a little white flag, when if there was but a small number, they would not fire upon them, and would allow them to enter.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, Kaendaé returned with an Onondaga chief named Hanging Belt, and two Cayugas. They presented a large white belt[1] to M. Pouchot, to reply to the one he had sent.

[1] This was a sign of peace.— *Note in Original.*

They said:— "We have heard your words, and they are true. Our part is taken, we will quit the English army, and to prove this, we will go and encamp at La Belle-Famille." They thanked him for having given them so good advice, and hoped there would be left no rancor between them. They promised to be henceforth quiet. The council of Kaendaé with the Iroquois was held in the presence of Johnson, to whom this chief spoke fiercely, reproaching him for having embarked his nation in a bad cause. Johnson smiled and regarded this reproof as a joke.

By another belt, they asked that Kaendaé, the women and the children of the Iroquois who were in the fort, should come out with Joncaire, whom they regarded as one of themselves, so that the kettles[1] should not fall on their heads. They were especially anxious about Kaendaé, who was charged with their business with the Indians of other tribes, and spoke all their languages.

M. Pouchot replied, that the women and Kaendaé were present and might answer as they wished. Kaendaé had assured M. de Chabert that he did not wish to leave. He made no reply. M. Pouchot made the motion in presence of the chief deputies, of covering his body in advance, in case that he should be injured. This ceremony consisted of placing a belt and an equipment before him, as they place them in

[1] They called the bombs by this name.— *Note in Original.*

the grave. This manner of death not implying any revenge, they were contented. The women and children then presented some strings to M. Pouchot to assure him, that they wished to remain with us, who were their fathers, and who had always taken pity on them.

These deputies also presented some strings on the part of the Loups or Moraiguns who were in the council of the Iroquois, to engage the Outaouais and other Indians, to retire to the head of the lake, and let the white people fight, while they stood aloof. These two words appeared to M. Pouchot, to have been inspired by the English, to disgust these Indians who were well affected towards us. M. Pouchot replied, that he did not know these nations that had sent these strings, and that he would send them back. He said that as regarded the Outaouais and the other nations, who were attached to us, they did not need any advice to know how they should conduct themselves towards their father, that they were at home at Niagara, and that they thought it very singular that these people with whom they had no alliance, should wish to induce them to quit their house. These Outaouais replied, to the deputies, that they had come to die with their father, and assured the Iroquois, that they were pleased to learn that they were going to quit the English. M. Pouchot did not wish to answer the word of the Loups, as he felt it had not come from them.

The deputies themselves proposed to return in the evening, but M. Pouchot forbade them, and told them that if they kept quiet he should be contented. He notified them, that in the night he knew nobody, and would fire on every one, but that they might come by daylight in small numbers, and without any conditions he would receive them. He sent them back each one with a loaf, because he knew that the English army had nothing to eat but flour cooked in cakes under the ashes.

To explain all these parleys it should be observed, that the English by night employed the Indians to cover their laborers. Our fire from the covered way disturbed them much. They had lost eight or nine of their people. M. Pouchot who knew the character of these nations, was not sorry to find the occasion for relieving himself of nine hundred men, whose insults he feared more than the English, on account of their number, and the knowledge they had of the place. In retaining some of their chiefs in the fort, with the women, and several warriors of foreign tribes, if they were harmed these same Indians would have to answer to their nations, or those whom they might have offended. They were therefore pleased with the idea which this occasion offered, of remaining neutral awaiting events. The English, on their part, did not dare to forbid these interviews of the Indians. They only sought to turn them to the best account.

The Indians being gone, M. Pouchot at once sent

eight volunteers under the orders of M. Cornoyer, who went near the battery and heard them place some piquets. The trenches were otherwise very quiet. On their return, we fired with artillery very sharply upon the battery, and with musketry right and left where they were to defile.

M. Pouchot ordered the corvette to sail for Oswego to reconnoitre, and try to gain some news of M. de la Corne, and from Montreal. During the day, the corvette cannonaded the trenches of the enemy with some success, and then departed in the night.

On the 13th, MM. Pouchot and Bonnafoux examined at daybreak the enemy's works. They had only finished a shell battery of six mortars. It fired all day with but little effect. We did not fire much to-day from our batteries, as the works of the enemy were too far advanced to be injured.

In the evening we observed a white flag, and some Indians on the other side of the river. Kaendaé asked permission to go and see them, and was allowed. They were some Indians who had come to council, and asked to come into the fort during the night, but M. Pouchot would not allow them. The fire of our batteries and of our musketry was very brisk, but not so much as on the preceding nights, because there was not so much occasion to impose upon the Indians who covered their laborers. These Indians informed Kaendaé, that they had all retired to La Belle-Famille, and that they would remain neutral. They said also

that it was reported in the English camp, that the latter had beaten M. la Corne at Oswego.

On the 14th, in the morning, we noticed a work of forty to fifty toises in prolongation of the trench, run from the side of the lake bank, the end of which was a hundred toises from the covered way. They had also thrown up a bomb battery from which they fired in the afternoon. Kaendaé and Chatacouen asked leave to go and talk with their people. M. Pouchot hesitated about refusing them, but the hope of getting some news led him to consent. They repaired to the camp of the Iroquois and to that of the English, and reported having seen about eighteen hundred men; that one of their camps was at the Little Marsh, and the other nearer the trench; that they had seen ten mortars, two batteries and fifteen cannon, of which three were of large calibre, and that Johnson had induced the Indians to remain by promising them leave to pillage the place, of which they would make an assault in two or three days. Lastly, that they had only a small stock of provisions, and were expecting a convoy.

From this day we saw no more Indians in the trench. The Iroquois asked to be allowed to cross the river from fear of the bombs, of which they threw a hundred during the day. M. Pouchot sent them over with their women well pleased to get rid of them. They had gone to take at the Chenondac, the oxen and cows of M. de Chabert, saying they thought it better that

they should have them than others, and carried this meat to the English camp. The enemy still labored to perfect his works, and we continued a brisk fire upon the part where we thought they wished to come out in their prolongation to the lake.

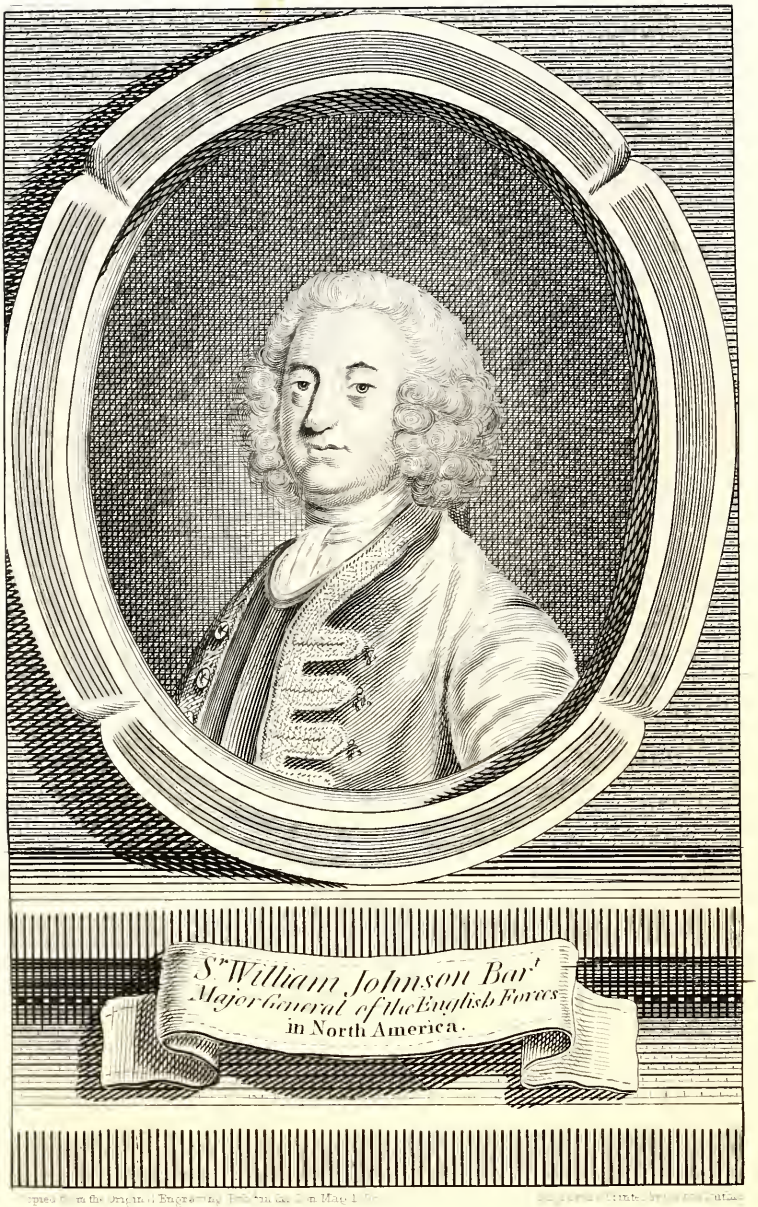
At day break (the 15th), they appeared to be working at another battery, and all day long threw many bombs, from ten mortars, and several of our men were wounded by splinters. In the evening there came in a deserter, a kind of Frenchman, who had been with the Iroquois of Kunoagon, who reported that the English army was composed of the Royal American, Halket, Loudon, York and Jersey regiments, and about nine hundred Loups and Iroquois, who had formed three camps, one at the Little Marsh, one near the lake, and one in the interior, and that the Indians had gone to La Belle-Famille. He said that on the morrow, the English would bring their cannon, consisting of fifteen pieces, into battery, and added that they were short of provisions, that the Indians complained of being hungry, and that they were expecting a convoy from Oswego, where they had a large camp from which M. de la Corne, in venturing to attack, had been repulsed.

On the 16th, it rained constantly. Two barges appeared on the open lake, but so far off that a twelve pound cannon ball could scarcely reach them. They were out to reconnoitre the place. The enemy began to fire with musketry from the trenches. They had

crowned with saucissons, the top of their trenches to cover their marksmen.

On the 17th, by reason of a fog which is very rare in that country in summer, and which did not rise till quite late, we did not observe that the enemy had began to throw up new works. They unmasked their artillery by a discharge of cannon fired from the other side of the river at Montreal point, which entered the chimney of the commandant's quarters, and rolled down by the side of the bed where he had lain down. They had planted in that place, a battery of two heavy cannon and two howitzers, and at the same time uncovered two other batteries, one of five pieces, and the other of two heavy guns and two howitzers. All of these were served vigorously during the day. We replied to them from our own in like manner. The battery across the river obliged us to make epaulements and blindages, because on that side we were only protected by an intrenchment, as we have above described, and the fire took us on the reverse of the bastions and other defences of the fort. At night we kept up a brisk musketry from within, and the enemy replied in like manner till midnight, after which it was more quiet. They fired at intervals from the mortars and howitzers all through the night. M. de Morambert was slightly wounded.

On the 18th, in the morning, we did not notice that the enemy had pushed his works forward, and he appeared to be busy repairing the damages that our


Sr William Johnson Bart
Major General of the English Forces
in North America.

artillery had occasioned. In the evening a great smoke arose from their trenches, one of our shot having set fire to one of their powder magazines. On this day, general Prideaux was killed in the trench.[1] The fire was very brisk on both sides, and increased towards evening, as well the cannon as the mortars and howitzers, by which we were greatly distressed, having many soldiers wounded and some killed. At night, thinking the enemy were intending to advance from the left by a zig-zag forward, or to open a parallel, we fired upon them very sharply, and they replied in like manner.

On the 19th, we discovered that the enemy had advanced their work about thirty toises along the bank of the lake by a double sap, from which he opened a boyau, in zig-zag, almost equal to the front of these two batteries. They worked through the day merely to perfect this, and fired heavily with cannon, mortars and howitzers. We answered very fiercely with our artillery.

In the afternoon, the corvette appeared, and beat to the windward in the open lake. At sunset, M. Pouchot sent out a bark canoe with seven men, who ran the risk of being sunk by the enemy's cannon,

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[1] Brigadier General John Prideaux was accidently killed in the trenches on the 19th of July, by the carelessness of a gunner in discharging a cohorn, the shell bursting instantly as the general was passing by it. Word was at once sent to General Amherst, who sent Brigadier General Gage to succeed him, but he did not reach the place before the fort surrendered to Johnson.— *Mante*, p. 225.—Ed.

one of whose balls struck a paddle. As he supposed that the enemy would push still further forward, we continued an active fire from the covered way and corresponding works.

On the 20th, at day break, we observed that the enemy had formed another branch to the zig-zag, which they ran from our right to the left to the bank of the lake very near a ravine, thirty toises in advance of the left branch of the covered way. They fired very briskly with musketry on every side till midnight, but ours somewhat slackened towards day-break, on account of the exhaustion of our troops, and the bad condition of our arms. Through the day they were completing this trench, and much incommoded those who served the lake bastion, by their marksmen, by whom we had several killed and wounded.

During the night the canoe, sent to the corvette, returned. The vessel had brought dispatches from Montreal and Quebec. They were concerned about us, but did not know we were besieged. They gave us news of the operations of the English at Quebec. At about ten o'clock in the morning, M. Pouchot sent back the canoe with dispatches for MM. de Vandreuil and de Montcalm.

On the 21st, at day break, we saw that the enemy had turned their zig-zag from the left to the right, and we fired towards the salient demi-lune. They were not able to reach that point on account of the

active fire we had kept up during the night, to which they replied very briskly, until about an hour after midnight. This work seemed to be about seventy toises long. It appeared during the day, that they wished to establish a battery at the end of this boyau, or the side of the salient demi-lune. The firing was not as active on the enemy's side during this day as during the previous evening, because they were busy in completing their trenches, and in working upon their batteries. Their musketry, however, considerably annoyed our batteries.

About seven o'clock in the evening, the enemy redoubled his fire from the last parallel, and continued it heavily till after midnight. We had several men killed and wounded at this place. We replied quite actively with our fire from our works and the covered way, where we had placed three cannon, which each fired fifty charges of grape shot. A shower which was too brief for us, and would have deluged their trenches interrupted this firing.

On the 22d, at day break, we thought that the enemy had extended a long parallel from the fosse which was at the end of the glacis, but they were only endeavoring to perfect these works, and the two batteries. That on the left, of eight pieces, was more advanced than that on the right. Their fire was very strong from the trench on their right upon the lake bastion, and upon our works on the left, which they incommoded very much. They threw a few bombs.

About nine o'clock in the morning, they began to throw red hot shot from the battery on the other side of the river. The battery where they had placed their heaviest guns did the same. By the precaution that M. Pouchot had taken, of having casks full of water before all the buildings, and parties of carpenters ready with axes to cut away the places exposed to the flames, the fire did not commit any ravages, although it started in several spots, even in the magazines of merchandize, and this is still more remarkable from the buildings being all of wood. The enemy could never understand it.

They directed their fire upon the bastion of the lake battery to prevent us from serving it. It was very sharp, and M. Bonnafoux artillery officer was lightly wounded, and ten men were killed or wounded. The cannon and howitzers dismounted three of the five pieces that were on the same bastion. They ruined the flank angle of this bastion, so that one might have descended upon the berm. The shell from howitzers penetrated into the ground and there burst, tearing up the newly arranged turf, and each time making holes six or eight feet in extent.

During the night, the enemy, from their parallel, made a very destructive fire upon our works, and fired shot and grape upon the breach and the bastion attacked.

We observed that our batteries upon the bastions, which were at first only made of casks filled with earth

were ruined, and were obliged to replace them by sacks filled with earth, which were put in cross wise, forming very good merlons, and easy to change according to the direction of the fire. This method is very useful in case a place is pressed, if so fortunate as to have many of these sacks, by the readiness with which they might disconcert the enemy's batteries; but unfortunately this resource was soon wanting. Those we had used were torn, used or burnt up in the service. The material for cannon wads was also wanting, and we had not even hay. The supply which M. Pouchot had having all been spent, they took the mattrasses of the beds, then the straw, and finally the linen.

The enemy on the night of the 22d and 23d, pressed their trenches forward as far as to the end of the salient of the covered way of the demi-lune, and through the night fired heavily with their artillery, both grape and balls upon the breach, as also with musketry, and threw many bombs. We replied to them from our fort, but our arms were in so bad a condition, that among ten guns scarcely one could be used, and on the next day there remained not more than a hundred fit for use, notwithstanding all the repairs daily made. Seven smiths or armorers were constantly employed in mending them. The domestics and wounded were employed in washing them. The women, as we have said, attended the wounded and sick, or worked sewing cartridges or sacks for earth. During this day, M. Pouchot was compelled to leave only one little post of

soldiers in the branch of the covered way of the bastion attacked. The Canadians no longer wished to hold this place on account of the sharpness of the enemy's fire. We tried to repair the breach, and the palisades of the berm below, but with little success, notwithstanding the good will of the soldiers who worked upon them.

At ten o'clock in the morning, a white flag appeared in the road from La Belle-Famille to the portage. M. Pouchot answered by another flag. They were four Indians sent by MM. Aubry and de Lignery. Upon entering the fort, they produced two letters, one dated July 17th and the other the 22d. In the former, signed at Presque Isle, they acknowledged the receipt of those of M. Pouchot of the 7th and 10th, and said they were soon to leave Fort Machault, and thought they might fight the enemy successfully, and compel them to raise the siege.

By these letters, these gentlemen asked M. Pouchot's advice upon what they could do to relieve him. The Indians told M. Pouchot, that they had passed by the camp of the enemy's Indians, with whom they had held a council in the presence of Johnson, and that they had sent five belts to the Iroquois on the part of the nations who were coming with M. Lignery, to induce them to retire. If not, they would strike them as well as the English. The latter assured them that they would not mingle in the quarrel. We learned also by the same means, that there were about six hun-

dred French and one thousand Indians[1] who, when they passed the little rapid at the outlet of Lake Erie, appeared like a floating island, as the river was covered with their bateaux and canoes.

M. Pouchot replied immediately to these two letters, after having deliberated in the presence of all the officers of the garrison, with the view of profiting by their advice. We will here recall the fact, that M. Pouchot, by his letter of the 10th, had notified M. de Lignery that the enemy might be four or five thousand strong, without the Indians, and that if he did not find himself in condition to attack so large a force, he should pass by Chenondac to come to Niagara by the other side of the river, where he would be in condition to drive the English, who were only two hundred strong on that side, and could not easily be reinforced. This done, he could easily come to him, because after the defeat of this body, they could send bateaux to bring them to the fort.

M. Pouchot did not doubt but that the English would read his reply upon the return of the Indians, but he was satisfied if it should only be able to arrive at its destination. By this letter he prayed M. de Lignery to recall what he had formerly written. He

[1] Of this number were three hundred soldiers and militia whom M. Aubry had brought from the Illinois, with six hundred Indians whom he had engaged on the route to follow him. M. Aubry, after a very difficult march, arrived at Fort Machault, where he joined M. de Lignery. The latter had assembled the Ohio Indians at the Fort of Presque Isle, from whence he left with M. Aubry. — *Note in Original.*

informed them that the enemy were in three corps, one on the side of the Little Marsh, who were guarding their bateaux, another in the middle of the woods near their entrenched depot, and the third near La Belle-Famille, where there might be then about 3,900 Indians, and that if he thought himself strong enough to attack either of these bodies, this would be the best course to take, because the enemy was very near the fort, and dare not give up their trench. He added, that if they should succeed in taking one of these posts, he had no doubt they would be forced to raise the siege. He advised them to send out scouts before them, and upon their report would be better able to decide upon the most proper course to pursue.

Although the enemy might see this letter, yet they could not foresee the determination of these chiefs, and take any other precaution, than that of being on their guard. M. Pouchot left M. de Lignery to himself to decide according to his strength. According to what M. de Portneuf, the commandant at Presque Isle, had written to M. Pouchot, he could not believe that they could show 2,800 men, of whom 1,200 were Indians. M. Pouchot made four copies of this letter, and sent one by each Indian, of whom one was an Onondaga, another a Loup from the Ohio, and the third a Chaouanon, so that there should be no jealousy between them, and that in case the English in their watching should seize one, they would save another, which proved to be the case.

After being refreshed these Indians left as they came, bearing the flag, and the English and Indians who saw them go out did not molest them. M. Pouchot did not doubt but that they then held a council with the Iroquois in the presence of Johnson.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, the Onondaga returned, saying he had lost his wampum,—(as a European who had lost his jewels), and that he had come back to find them. He said he had charged another Indian with carrying the letter. M. Pouchot then thought that this Indian was a spy rather than a friend, and accused him accordingly, but afterwards found he was mistaken. Kaendaé, being a little intoxicated every day, teased M. Pouchot, wishing to hold sometimes the English side, and sometimes the French. The Onondaga was very quiet. He, with great boldness, examined all our works in the most dangerous places, notwithstanding a considerable fire of the enemy, and never sought shelter. He was perhaps the only Indian who has evinced so decided a bravery.

The enemy all day kept up a prodigious fire from the best supplied of their batteries, which ruined all the battery of the flag bastion. There was left not more than two feet high of its parapet, along its whole length. We will remark that of late we had been obliged to make our embrasures of packets of peltries, for the want of other materials, and that we used blankets and shirts from the magazines for can-

non wads. We endeavored to place two cannon in battery on the left side of the curtain, to lessen the enemy's fire.

We could no longer induce the Canadians to fire into the embrasures at the enemy, by which they would have been greatly deranged. The fire was too much for them. Those who were placed at any point crouched down to cover themselves, and were soon asleep, in spite of all that the officers and sergeants could do to induce them stay posted and to fire. The rest of the garrison notwithstanding the best of will, were not less worn down. Since the 6th, no one had gone to bed, and they were obliged to be in the works as we have said, or were employed in various indispensable labors. There remained so few men that they found neither time nor convenience for sleeping.

In the evening, the enemy's fire considerably slackened, especially the cannon, of which they fired only two pieces of ball and grape upon the breach, to prevent our repairing it. This respite made M. Pouchot suspect, either that they intended to raise the siege, to go and meet a reinforcement, or that they were preparing for some great attack. They held themselves on their guard as much as possible. We had many wounded this night, and several killed in working to repair damages.

On the 24th, we heard some firing in the direction of La Belle-Famille. It was that of some Indian scouts of M. de Lignery who had fallen upon a guard

of English who were watching 22 bateaux which they had carried over by land to cross the river and communicate with the detachment upon Montreal Point.

They killed a dozen, and having cut off their heads, set them upon poles. This event led to others. It engaged the Indians to ask of MM. Aubry and de Lignery, to wait until they had spoken to the Iroquois, to oblige us to make peace with the English. M. de Lignery dissuaded them from it, and wished them to follow him, being upon the point of attacking. They refused to march, and thirty only of the most resolute followed M. Marin.

M. Pouchot hearing these unusual reports of muskets, at once repaired with M. Bonnafoux to the bastion of the Five Nations. He observed some English who fled very precipitately upon their main guards, and some troops defiling from the central camp upon the edge of the clearing to join them at the entrance of the way, to La Belle-Famille, where we saw a little in reverse, an entrenchment of fallen trees. We aimed two cannon at it, and fired two or three times. M. Pouchot at the same time noticed some scattered Indians with a white flag, and then thought this might be some Iroquois Indians who wish to perform some bravado, or a trick, to induce some one to come out. M. Pouchot ordered two cannon to be fired between them and the English, to scatter them, or if they were our friends, to make them notice that they were near enemies, and to prevent

them from advancing because seeing so small a number, he feared they might fall into an ambuscade. He warned M. Bonnafoux of this. This only led to the display of a large white flag. We saw, at the same time, a troop defiling with much confidence along a path seven or eight feet wide, and well closed up in front. It appeared as if they had perceived an enemy near, and sought to put themself in readiness to fight in close order and without ranks or files. On their right appeared thirty Indians, who formed a front on the left flank of the enemy. This battalion began by firing one or two volleys as they approached the battery, who appeared to be making a movement forward out of their abattis, but having been broken at the third discharge, they retreated very precipitately. The battalion then pressed forward to enter the abattis, but was stopped by a volley of the enemy. They immediately dropped upon one knee to fire into the abattis. During this interval there fell a heavy shower of rain, which wet their arms. While a half of this battalion was firing, the other half appeared to fall to the rear with haste, the enemy having fired two volleys upon those who remained, and there were but few left. About fifty appeared to fire and retire, and they often came to the ground upon one knee. Then the English came out of their abattis almost in a file with fixed bayonets and running, but by the little firing we heard, we judged that all the battalion had retired. It was to our eyes so small an affair,

that we thought M. Marin or some other officer might have come up in the shower to reconnoitre, and that they had repulsed them thus far.

While this affair was in progress, a sergeant in the covered way, thought from the stillness that the trench was evacuated, and asked leave of M. Pouchot to make a sortie. Although he believed that this trench might, on the contrary, be well defended, yet to excite the emulation of the soldiers, and to please them, he called for 150 volunteers who were all that could be found except the officers and sergeants. He directed M. de Villars to put himself at their head, and ordered them to only leave the covered way with the greatest caution, and when he should give the signal but to make as much noise as possible. He enjoined them to place people on the palisades, so that they could not fail to discover the enemy and judge of their condition. In fact, the English seeing our people astride of our palisades, the whole trench at once appeared full of men, who showed themselves stripped to the waist, with companies of grenadiers at the head of the trenches.[1] We fired some cannon which quickly made them reënter, and our sortie did not take place.

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[1] "The guard of the trenches was commanded by Major Beckwith, and lest the garrison should sally out, and either attempt to surprise or overpower that guard, and thereby hem in our troops between two fires, Sir William very judiciously posted the 44th regiment under Lieut. Col. Farquhar, in such a manner as to be able to sustain the Major on the first alarm."— *Knox's Journal*, ii, 135.— Ed.

Upon the arrival of succors, the Onondaga who had returned, having recognized the troops of M. de Lignery, asked leave of M. Pouchot to go out and fight with them, which was granted. He passed freely through the English army, who doubtless did not notice him. He joined our troops towards noon, and returned about two o'clock. He related the whole of our disaster, which we could scarcely believe, and we thought the English had invented the account. He told us they had all fled, that MM. Aubry, de Lignery, de Montigny and de Repentigni were prisoners and wounded, and that the rest of our officers and soldiers had been killed.[1] We hoped this man was telling a lie.

When M. Pouchot saw this retreat, he ordered all the batteries that were still in condition to redouble their fire against the enemy, to keep them in check. They returned it very briskly, which occasioned us the loss of many men. At four o'clock, p. m., the enemy beat the rappel, in his trench, and then sent an officer to parley, whom we admitted into the fort. He was the bearer of a letter from Johnson, who commanded the army after the death of Prideaux.

Johnson asked in this letter to give credit to what this officer, Major Hervey, son of Lord Bristol, should

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[1] It appears by this account of M. Pouchot, as well as by the English statement, that our forces had fallen into an ambuscade which Johnson had prepared.—*Note in Original.*

say in his behalf. The latter gave the names of all the Canadian officers who were their prisoners. Although M. Pouchot had been before notified by the Indian, he pretended to be ignorant of it, and did not wish to believe it until they had shown these officers to some one of his garrison, to the end that no one should have cause to blame him. M. de Cervies, a captain of the Royal-Roussillon was sent to their camp. He saw M. de Lignery wounded, and the others in an arbor near Col. Johnson's tent. He could scarcely speak to them, and returned to give an account to M. Pouchot.[1]

This news which had first been given by the Indian, and confirmed by this officer, so broke down the

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[1] Sir William Johnson was informed on the evening of the 23d that the French troops under M. de Aubry were approaching to relieve the fort. "Upon this, he ordered his light infantry and pickets to take post on the left, on the road between Niagara Falls and the fort; and then, after reinforcing them with the grenadiers, and another party of the 46th regiment, commanded by Lieut-Col. Massey, and the 44th regiment commanded by Lieut-Col. Farquhar, disposed of them to such an advantage, as effectually to support the guard left in the trenches.

"On the morning of the 24th, the French made their appearance; and the Indians of the English army advanced to speak to those of the French; but the latter declining the conference, the former gave the war-whoop, and the action commenced. The English regulars attacked the French in front, whilst the English Indians gained their flank. This threw the French into great disorder, and the English, seizing so favorable an opportunity, with all the eagerness it naturally inspired, charged the French with inexpressible fury, and totally routed them with great slaughter, which continued without ceasing, till mere fatigue obliged the conquerors to return. But the number of the killed could not be precisely ascertained, their bodies being so dispersed in the woods." — *Mante*, p. 226. — Ed.

courage of the garrison, that M. Pouchot and the other officers, could scarcely restrain the soldiers and militia at their posts from abandoning everything as if it were over. Had the enemy seen this disorder, they would surely have taken advantage of it. The German soldiers, of whom we had many in the colonial troops, and who had come this year from France, as recruits, were more mutinous than the rest.

M. Pouchot assembled all the officers of the garrison, to deliberate upon the condition of the post, and as to the course that should be taken. An examination was made by M. Bonnafoux, as the most capable of judging. He began with the covered way, and was convinced that from its proximity to the enemy, it could not be longer than two days before they would render themselves master of it, either by sap or assault. We had only one hundred and ten men to guard the covered way, from the bank towards the lake bastion, to the salient angle of the demi-lune, and twenty-five men in the stronghold on the right, who guarded as far as the salient of the covered way of the bastion of the Five Nations. This gave more than eight or ten feet interval between the men who were to face an attack. The arms were in so bad a state, that we had not more than one hundred and forty guns in proper condition for service. The most of them were without bayonets. The colonial soldiers and Canadians who were without them, had fitted wood cutter's knives on the end of their guns, to serve in their place, and they carried

these with them to their posts. We had burned 24,000 lbs. of powder, and had 54,000 left in the fort. Only a very few four and six pound balls were left, and twelves were all used. We could not therefore hope to defend the place with vigor. The fosses as we have said had no escarpment. The earth crumbled down and the ramp was so sloping that one could go up or down on the run. To avoid this difficulty, we had placed a palisade in the bottom of the fosse, but the enemy might still descend everywhere, had the garrison all been assembled between the palisade and the covered way, because being mingled with them, they could not be covered by the artillery on the flanks. Besides this, there remained no more than sixty men in this place, not including the cannoniers. The palisades opposite the breach were all broken down, and it would be very easy to descend from the breach, which occupied two thirds of the face of the bastion in the fosse. We had, lost or disabled, ten men of the Sarre, nine of Béarn, eight of Royal-Roussillon, thirteen of Guienne, forty-three of the colonial troops and twenty-six militia; in all one hundred and nine men killed or wounded, and thirty-seven sick.[1] Besides these losses, our small numbers, and the superiority of the enemy, the fort might be easily insulted along the river and lake shore.

[1] The garrison was composed of four hundred and eighty-six men, of whom as we have seen, three hundred and forty were unable to bear arms. According to English accounts they had six hundred and seven effective men when they took the place. — *Note in Original.*

All these circumstances required the officers of the garrison to ask M. Pouchot to surrender. Until this time he had said nothing. He begged the gentlemen to examine carefully what resources they had left. They represented the exhaustion of the garrison, which had not slept for nineteen days, and had been constantly under arms or at work, and that a delay of two and even of eight days, although it might be possible, could not save the place, and moreover that this would occasion a still further loss of brave men to no purpose, as they could no longer hope for succor from any quarter.

M. Pouchot feeling the truth of this conclusion, called in the English officer, asked to capitulate, and to be allowed to march out with the honors of war, and that the garrison be sent to Montreal with their effects, and those of the king at the expense of His Britannic Majesty and with as little delay as possible. Communications were passing to and from through the night. M. Pouchot did not wish to abate from his propositions, but Col. Johnson sent him word, that in good faith he was not the master of the conditions, or he otherwise would have granted them. At daybreak, M. Pouchot wished to send back the officer, because, before becoming a prisoner, he wished to risk the event, then the whole garrison demanded a surrender, the Germans who formed the greater part, mutinied, and unfortunately the English officer seeing this was more firm. We will observe on this occasion,

that every commander who finds himself under a necessity to capitulate, would do well to send back his hostages, so that everything may be ready. M. Pouchot was finally compelled to accept the following articles:

Articles of Capitulation.

Art. 1. The garrison shall march out[1] with arms and baggage, the drums beating and match lighted at both ends, and with one small cannon, to take passage upon bateaux or other vessels, to be furnished by his Britannic Majesty's general, to be conducted to New York by the nearest route, and in the shortest time. [Granted.]

2. The garrison shall lay down their arms upon embarking, and shall retain their baggage. [Granted.]

3. The officers shall retain their arms and equipages.

4. The French ladies and women, as well as the chaplain who are here, shall be sent away, and shall be furnished by the general of H. B. M. with the necessary vessels and subsistence. They shall be sent as soon as possible to the nearest French post. Those who may wish to follow their husbands, shall be free to do so. [Granted, except with regard to those women who are His Britannic Majesty's subjects.]

5. The sick and wounded obliged to be left in the

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[1] They might have specified *by the breach*, which would have been very easy, if the garrison had not to embark on the opposite side.—*Note in Original.*

fort, shall upon leaving, be allowed to carry away all that belongs to them, and as soon as able to bear the journey, they shall be conducted in safety to the destination of the rest of the garrison. In the meantime, they shall be furnished with a guard to protect them from the insults of Indians, and shall be fed and cared for at the expense of His Britannic Majesty.

6. The commandant, the officers and troops, together with all who pertain to the king's service, shall march out without being subject to any act of reprisal of any kind or under any pretext whatsoever. [Granted.]

7. There shall be prepared an inventory of the munitions of war that are found in the magazines, and of the artillery. They shall be left in good faith, as well as the other effects belonging to the king, and in the magazines at the time of capitulation. [Granted, and the vessels and boats were included in this article.]

8. The soldiers and militia shall not be pillaged, nor separated from their officers. [Granted.]

9. When the garrison shall march out from the fort, it shall not be allowed to debauch the soldiers to induce them to desert.[1]

10. The garrison shall be conducted by an escort to the place destined for their sojourn. The general shall expressly order the escort to cover from the Indians, and that they shall not be allowed to insult

[1] This article is not included in English copies. — Ed.

the garrison, when they lay down their arms to embark. The same care shall be given during the whole route. [Granted.]

11. There shall be prepared an exact list of names and surnames of the soldiers of the different troops, as well as of the militia and others in the king's service. [Granted in the first article.]

12. The employees in whatever quality they may be, shall retain their equipages and share the lot of the garrison.[1]

13. All the Indians who may be found in the place, of whatever nation they may be, shall be free to retire and without insult. [Granted, but it will be advisable for them to depart as privately as possible.]

14. The post shall be surrendered to the Britannic Majesty's general. [Granted, to-morrow at seven o'clock in the morning.]

The exchanges of these articles were signed respectively by the general, and all the officers of the garrison. Before M. Pouchot had signed, the general proposed to stipulate that the garrison should be conducted to France. He did not wish to do this, but on the contrary resolved to insert the place most convenient for being first exchanged, and this was done.

On the 25th, between ten and eleven o'clock, the English sent four companies of grenadiers, four piquets, and a regiment into the fort. M. Pouchot drew up

[1] This article is not included in English copies. — Ed.

the garrison in line of battle upon the parade ground, their arms in their hands, and haversacks between their legs. He begged the officers to stay by their troops, and they remained in this situation about thirty hours. M. Pouchot had forewarned everybody of the necessity of this course, in order to protect themselves from the insults of the Indians, reminding them of the history of Fort George. He told them, that if any Indian should come to strike them, or to take away anything, to give them a good kick in the bowels, or strike them with the fist in their stomachs,[1] as the surest means of restraining them. If this would not check them, it would be better to die with arms in their hands, than be tortured by them. These orders were fulfilled exactly.

The English had posted troops on every side to prevent the Indians from entering. They wished to induce the garrison to deliver their arms, under the pretext that they would then be in a better condition to defend us. M. Pouchot steadily refused this, and assured them that they could not then restrain the Indians from entering before we left. In fact, an hour after the English had entered the fort, the Indians scaled it on every side, and in half an hour after, there were more than five hundred in the fort. But they remained very quiet.

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[1] It is of no consequence to an Indian to be struck in this way. The others would not take his part as if he were hit by a gun, sword or bayonet. — *Note in Original.*

The French officers had taken the precaution of putting a part of their equipages into the powder magazine. Every thing not thus secured was taken, either by the English officers or by detached soldiers. M. Pouchot gave a dinner to Colonel Johnson and some officers. After the dinner, these officers helped themselves to all the utensils and movables.

The Indians had the discretion to take nothing in the house where all the officers lodged, until they had gone out. But soon after their departure, they took every thing, even to the iron work and hinges of the doors, and broke whatever they could not carry off. They pillaged the magazine of the king's goods, of which there were still about five or six hundred packets of peltries.[1] We had used many of them as merlons for the batteries. They broke open and wasted all the barrels of flour.

In the first moments, they attempted to take the arms from our soldiers and militia, which they would not give up, and were resolved at all events to defend against them, as against the English. It is not certain but they might have been worsted, notwithstanding the armed enemy. M. Pouchot saw what would have been done in case these terms had not been embraced in the capitulation. Seeing our firmness, the Indians came rather to console than to insult us. Almost all

[1] These might prove of so much money to Johnson, who alone being known by these Indians, could find means to repurchase them with the king's means.— *Note in Original.*

were known to the garrison. Some of the chiefs said to M. Pouchot: "We have no designs against you, be quiet; it is the English who are doing us harm."

Some English officers remarked, that this would be a good occasion to take revenge for Fort George; but we should do justice to the greater part, who in the first moments did every thing they could, to disperse the Indians. There was one even wounded by the blow of a knife. The Indians did not however spare them with their foolish words, among others the Onondaga above mentioned, who, while he was at Niagara, said among other things, some very hard words to Colonel Johnson, which he did not dare to resent.

Some English officers and soldiers, took away several fowling pieces from our officers and men, but rather by scuffling than by force. The wind blew so strongly from the N. W. during the first twenty-four hours, that they could not get out a bateau. Had it not been for this, M. Pouchot would have attempted to get off a part of the garrison before giving up the place, which would not have been absolutely difficult.

On the 26th, in the afternoon, the garrison marched out of the fort to descend upon the beach, with guns upon their shoulders, drums beating, and two pieces of large cannon at the head of the column. As soon as the troops reached the bateaux in which they were

to embark, they laid down their guns, and at once set out, although the waves of the lake were yet high.[1]

We could not see the officers who were prisoners. Johnson had given his word that he would ransom from the hands of the Indians, those whom he had taken, but having seen the departure of our people they pursued and killed many. Upon this occasion there happened a tragic adventure. Moncourt, a colonial cadet, had formed a strong affection for an Indian with whom he was amicably allied. This Indian who was in the English army, seeing his friend a prisoner, evinced much grief upon his condition, and said; "My brother! I am in despair at thy death; but be quiet, I will prevent them from making you suffer." He then killed him with a blow of his tomahawk, thinking to release him from the tortures to which prisoners among them were destined.

The remainder of these troops who escaped from the combat, retired to an island above the fort at the portage, where they had left Rocheblave with about 150 men to guard their canoes and bateaux. They

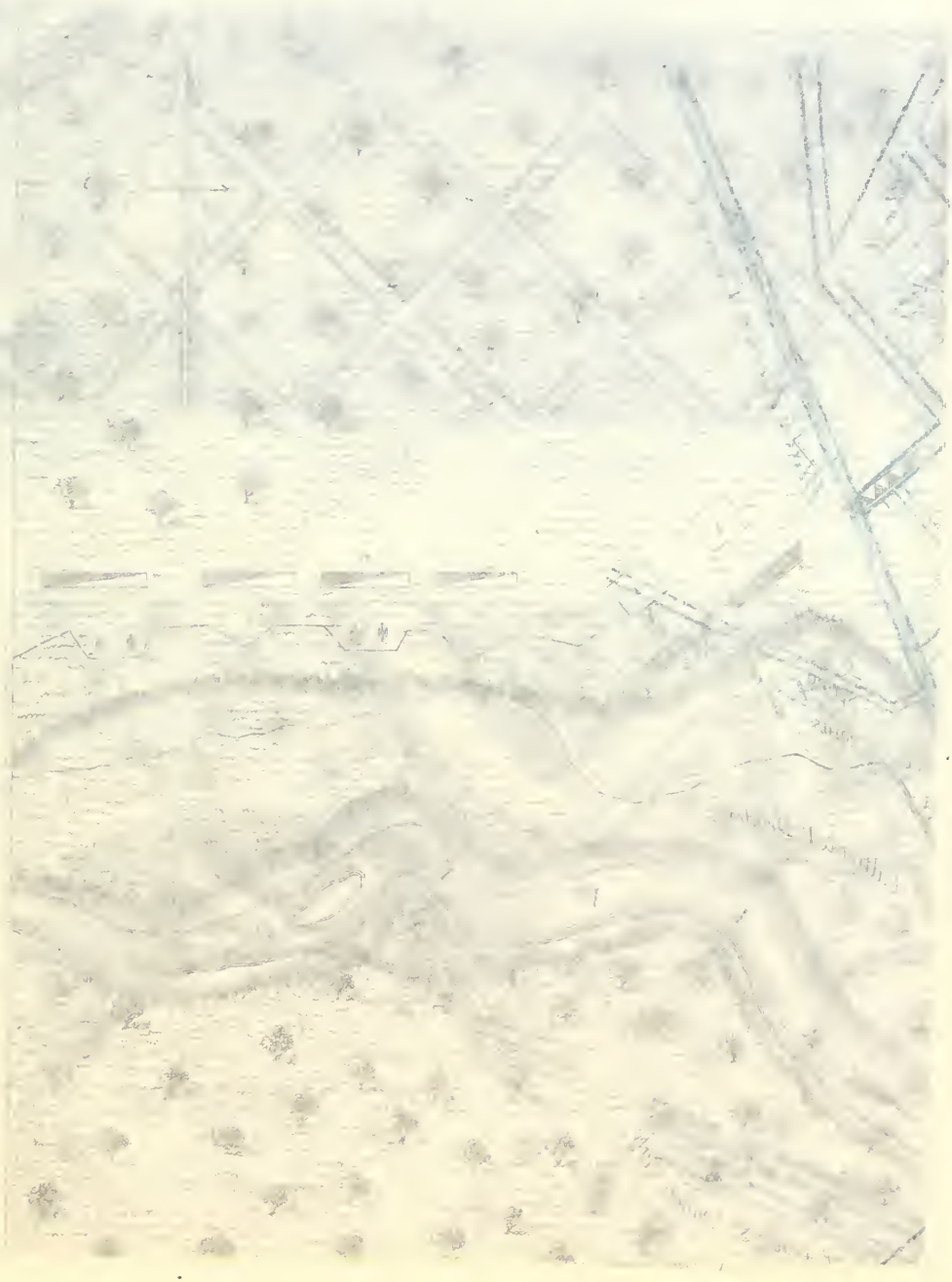
[1] "The garrison of Niagara surrendered July 25th, at 7 in y^e^ morning, the number of which consisted of 607 men and 11 officers, besides a number of women, children, &c. The former to be sent to England by the way of New York and escorted to Oswego by a detachment of the 46th, consisting of 300; the latter to y^e^ 1st French Post. Officers named in garrison, Chev^lr^ Pouchot, Capt^n^ of the Regm^t^ De Bearn, comand't, * * [names of ten officers omitted.] Cherugeon left to take care of y^e^ sick."— *Old MSS.*

July 26th, they embarked after grounding their arms and proceeded to Oswego.—Ed.

retired to Detroit, as did also the garrisons of all the posts of Presque Isle and Fort Machault under the orders of M. Belestre who had not been in the action on account of sickness of 400 men, they had had more than 250 killed, mostly colonial soldiers who were very brave, and had served very well in these parts. There were also several French who had served in the Illinois, killed or captured. All the prisoners were taken to New York, as were also the Niagara garrison.

There happened to the latter a comic adventure near Oneida lake. Their escort was composed of 100 men of the Royal Americans, 300 militia, and a company of rangers or *coureurs de bois*. The soldiers of this company, wishing to make us think there were some Indians with them, or to show their cleverness, went one night and painted and dressed themselves up as Indians. They then entered the French encampment, knife and tomahawk in hand, raising the war whoop, after their manner when making an attack. Our soldiers at once knew them by their awkward airs, and began to dance and sing, yelling after the manner of the Indians, and mingling with them in the best of feeling.

The officers of the Royal Americans, were then at supper, with the French officers, and seeing the latter smile and mock at this bravado, took it as an injury, caused the drums to beat, and sent their soldiers to bed, but little pleased with their amusement.



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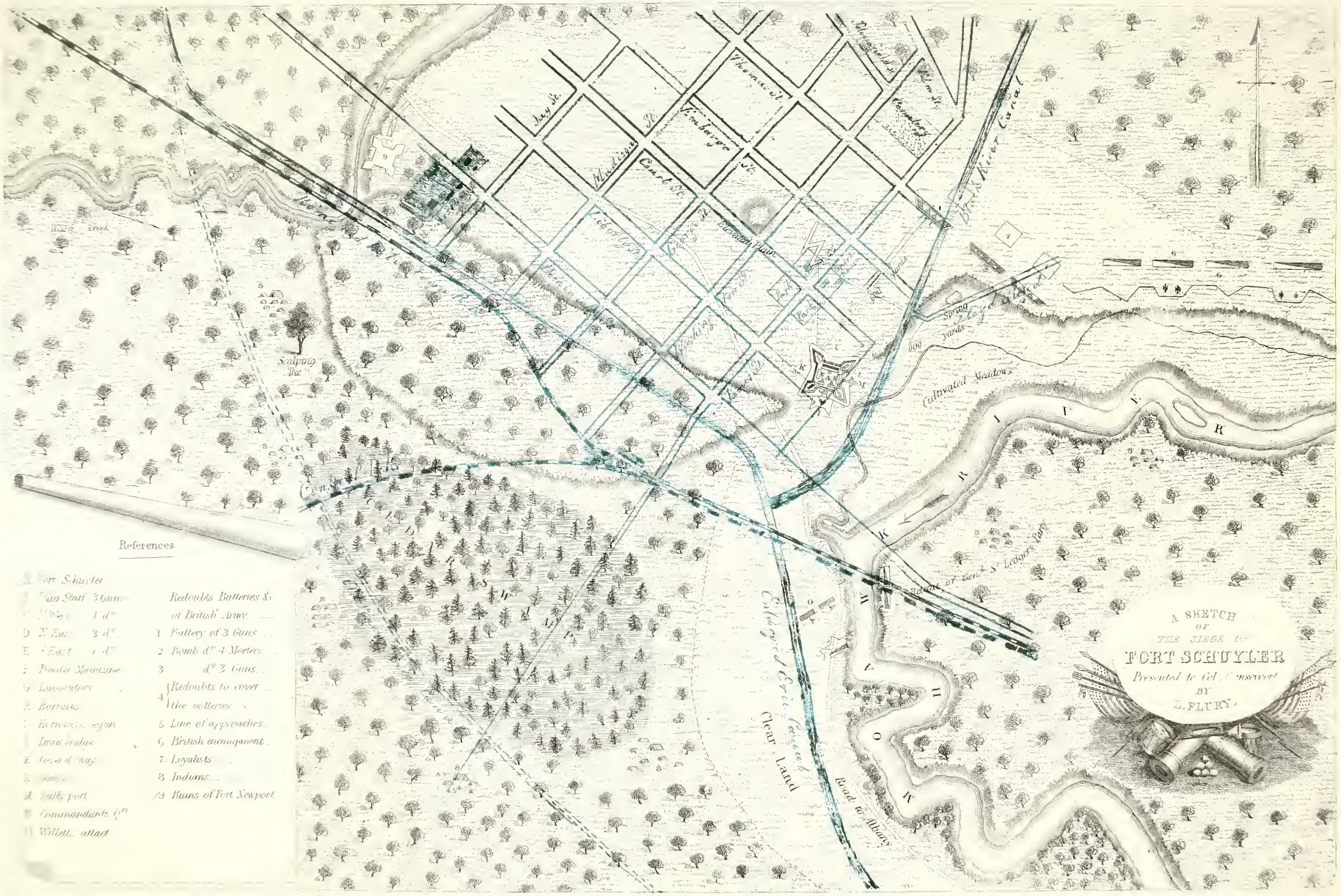

Map of the VILLAGE of ROME, Oneida Co., N. Y.

The garrison having arrived near Fort Stanwix, the English ordered that we should be taken around to the Mohawk by a circuitous way, so that M. Pouchot could not get a sight of their fort. As the water was high, the escort wished to return past the fort, and leave us to go around to the river by ourselves. M. Pouchot, who had anticipated their intention, at once plunged into the water, dressed as he was, and was at once followed by his officers and troops. The English were ashamed to recall them after this had been done, and swore heartily at the precaution of the commandant of the fort. We will not here forget the courtesy of M. Fech, a Swiss captain of the Royal Americans, who commanded this escort. He loaned to M. Pouchot about twenty-five Louis, to aid the French officers to subsist. This was a very substantial service, as upon this occasion, all the officers found themselves out of money, and would have been forced to live upon the English rations, which were very scarce, and consisted of only a pound of flour and a pound of poor pork. The English officers were supplied by their commissaries who served as suttlers, and we had the same resource.

Having said only a word upon the affair of M. le Chevalier de la Corne, we will here give the details. We have noticed that M. de la Corne was at Frontenac and at La Presentation. He had with him there, to cover the entrance of the river, from four to five hundred Canadians, and some colonial soldiers.

Early in July, he repaired to Oswego with his whole force, and the Indians of that mission, accompanied by the Abbé Picquet, a Sulpician, and noted missionary in that country, whose zeal incited him to accompany his converts. They landed at the same place where M. de Montcalm had disembarked at the siege. The English, upon going to Niagara, had left at the place where Fort Ontario was, about five or six hundred men, who had not as yet time to intrench themselves, and they had only made a kind of wall around their camp with the barrels of pork and flour, of which this army corps had provided a great supply.[1] As this detachment felt itself very secure, the greater portion were scattered in the neighboring forests, cutting wood for intrenchments.

M. de la Corne pressed forward a large body of his forces as far as the place where Fort Ontario had stood, to reconnoitre the enemy. They fired upon the workmen, who, on coming to their camp, found it in confusion. The guard, and those who remained in camp, resisted these scouts. Had M. de la Corne followed his advance-guard, the English would have lost every thing. But the Abbé Picquet, who heard the beginning of the firing, thought it was his duty, before his troops should attack, to make a short exhorta-

[1] The detachment left at Oswego, was under the command of Col. Haldimand. The English lost two killed and eleven wounded. The French buried their dead, and took off their wounded. They took neither a prisoner nor a scalp.— *Mante*, p. 231.— Ed.

tion, and give them absolution. This led to the loss of their opportunity, and the English ran to arms, and placed themselves behind the barrels. M. de la Corne arrived after his detachment, who were scattered around the English, but did not approach nearer on account of their superiority. He wished to have them renew the attack, but some Canadians who would rather retreat than fight, cried out that the blow had failed, and in spite of their officers, regained their boats as soon as possible.

The Abbé Picquet, who tried to rally them, was thrown down, when he caught hold of one and called out, "Save at least your chaplain!" We had but a small loss, as the English did not pursue. We were convinced after the action, that if all our forces had followed the first detachment, we might have taken these English troops very easily, because they were surprised and much disconcerted at the first moment. Had this body been defeated, Niagara would have been saved, as their army could not have received the troops and supplies that were sent for them.

M. Douville, a colonial captain, who commanded at Toronto, only waited to hear the cannonade at Niagara when he felt sure the fort was taken, and cleared out from his post, which having set on fire he left for Montreal, so that they could not catch him. This fort as we have said, could be only defended against Indians, and had a garrison of only twelve or fifteen men.

Such was the issue of the campaign in the upper country. Let us now review the operations at Quebec.

The English fleet of twenty-eight ships of war, of which some had three decks, with transports laden with ten thousand land troops under Gen. Wolfe, arrived at the Isle aux Coudres in the month of June.[1] The enemy then seized and occupied the Isle of Orleans.[2] They found none of the difficulties which our Canadian mariners had so much anticipated. When this fleet entered the bay of Quebec, they launched some five ships against it without success.[3]

MM. de Vaudreuil and de Montcalm, placed the Canadians and troops to the number of five or six thousand men, namely, the Queen's, Languedoc, Sarre,

[1] The English fleet consisted of twenty-two ships of war bearing an aggregate of fifteen hundred guns, and an equal number of frigates and small vessels. The land force consisted of the 15th, 28th, 35th, 43d, 47th, 48th, 58th and 78th regiments, the 2d and 3d battalions of Royal Americans, three companies of Rangers, a detachment of the Royal Artillery, and a brigade of engineers. It was divided into three brigades commanded by Generals Monckton, Townshend and Murray. The grenadiers were under Col. Carlton, and the Rangers under Major Scott. The whole were commanded by Major General James Wolfe. — *Mante*, p. 236. — Ed.

[2] On the 29th and 30th of that month. — *Note in Original.*

[3] The English fleet was then under the orders of Admiral Saunders. It was assailed by a violent gale of wind after the taking of the Isle of Orleans, and several of the large vessels lost their anchors and a number of transport vessels were sunk. Profiting by this moment we sent in the night some fire ships, but the hurry that is unavoidable in operations of this kind, led to the failure of a plan which had been very well contrived. — *Note in Original.*

There were seven of these fire ships. The English seamen boldly made fast to them and towed them aground where they burned without the least injury to the squadron. — *Mante*, p. 241. — Ed.

Royal-Roussillon and Béarn, and the colonial troops which numbered about eighteen hundred men in two battalions, from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency, leaving a garrison in Quebec. They threw up some redoubts along this latter river, and intrenched themselves there. The greater part of the enemy landed on the other side with much artillery.

By various manœuvres, and aided by their artillery which was of much strength, and further aided by that of their vessels which were brought near the shore, they endeavored to dislodge us from the banks of the river St. Charles, and to pass us.

On the 31st of July, they landed a large force at low tide below the falls, to take a redoubt which covered the passage and centre of the intrenchments. Through the day they kept up a very active fire from two hundred cannon upon our whole camp to favor this body of troops, who glided upon the beach to take the redoubt, where we had two pieces of artillery in so bad a condition that they could not be served. Our troops kept so good a front throughout, that the English could not find a chance to hold any place. They could scarcely find a spot to land on the beach with their two thousand men as the tide was rising.[1]

They abandoned this enterprise, and placed a body of about three thousand men opposite Quebec, on

[1] The English by their own admissions, lost on this day, more than five hundred men and many brave officers. — *Note in Original.*

The tide rises about twenty feet at Quebec. — Ed.

the other side of the river. We sent a detachment of Canadians under the orders of M. Dumas, a colonial captain, to endeavor to dislodge them, but this affair resulted much like that of M. de la Corne.[1]

The enemy mounted several cannon and mortars at this place, which ruined and burned a part of Quebec during the month of August. Our army passed their nights in bivouac, and the enemy almost every day made some movement to dislodge them, and to gain a footing on their side. Since they had taken their last position, we were obliged to guard the river above Quebec, where we had built some redoubts at places thought practicable for landing. They were only defended by piquets of fifty men. These places did not appear to be in much danger on account of the position of the enemy. These piquets remained there almost three months in a fixed position, which was a very bad plan, because the length of their vigilance made them weary of the service.

MM. de Vaudreuil and de Montcalm having learned of the capture of Niagara in the month of August, detached M. de Lévis, with five or six hundred men, to repair to La Presentation, and there establish a post sufficient to cover that frontier. Upon the reports of those parts, he decided with M. de la Pause, aide-major

[1] This lodgment was made on Point Levi. The detachment sent against the English consisted of sixteen hundred men, but it fell into disorder, fired upon one another, and made a precipitate retreat. — *Mante*, p. 241. — Ed.

of Guienne, that the little island of Oraquointon,[1] above the Galot Islands, would be the most proper to fortify to defend the river. It was la Pause, who decided M. de Lévis, and wished himself to lay out the fort, or redoubt according to his own fancy, notwithstanding the opinion of M. des Androins, an engineer whom they had charged with its construction. The latter was left to command there. M. de Lévis remained there till into September, and observed the movements of the enemy in that quarter. He occupied his people in this interval, in hastening the construction of the new fort, and when he deemed it somewhat advanced, he returned down to Quebec with a part of his forces to join the army there.[2]

During this interval, this city struggled so to speak, with its artillery which was very numerous, against that of the English, who were constantly moving here

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[1] Otherwise called Oraconenton, or Isle Royal. — *Smith's Canada*, i, 359; *Memoires sur le Canada*, 197. This island is now the property of David C. Judson of Ogdensburgh. — Ed.

[2] "The Chevalier de Lévis returned from the rapids, where he had ordered the construction of a fort, on an island named Oraconenton, a league beyond the rapids. He gave orders that they should finish a barque the building of which had been interrupted to send the workmen to Quebec. The arrangement made for the defence was, that the barque with the Jacobite boats should form the first line, the Oraconenton and other islands the second, and the Galops where the rapids begin the third; then to defend from rapid to rapid. The plan would have been good if they had men and boats enough to hold the river, which is quite wide at La Presentation, and to guard the different passages of the rapids." — *Memoires sur le Canada*, 168. — Ed.

and there with their frigates and armed shallops, seeking to penetrate at some point. They then tried to pass some of their frigates between their camp and the city. They ascended the river, favored by wind and tide, notwithstanding the fire from the place. Then they passed during the night, a large number of bateaux loaded with troops, and several large vessels. M. de Vaudreuil, who had two frigates which barred the river, had a fight with three large vessels, which lasted seven hours, when he was defeated and his vessels were lost.[1] The enemy, being now masters of the river, burned the magazines at Jacques Quartier, where the greater part of the effects of our officers and army were deposited.

M. de Montcalm detached M. de Bougainville with all the grenadiers and volunteers of the army, and about two hundred cavalry, collected in haste. This corps, amounting to a thousand picked men, repaired to Point au Tremble, five leagues above Quebec, to prevent the enemy from landing in that quarter, by which we would have been cut off from all communication with the rest of Canada. The regiment of Guienne was posted a quarter of a league above Quebec along the river, to be ready to support the redoubts we have mentioned.

The enemy having passed more than four thousand

[1] Flat bottomed vessels should have been built in Canada and not in France. They would have hindered the English fleet from ascending the river. — *Note in Original.*

men in bateaux above Quebec, sought, between Point au Tremble and Quebec, for some place to land, but always saw detachments of cavalry to oppose them.

On the 13th of September, at day break, these troops were returning down the river in despair at not finding the means for putting their plans into effect, when, as they passed near the redoubt guarded by M. de Vercors, they saw a very steep place[1] which they thought had no guard. One or two bateaux then landed and debarked their troops, who climbed up this bank.[2] They met a Canadian sentinel, who fired his gun, but unfortunately did not fall back upon his post. The English arrived in file at the top of the bank. This post was so confident of its own security, that the greater part of its soldiers were off cutting hay or corn. Captain Vercors was still in bed, when he received a musket shot through his ankle. All his men were scattered, and the regiment of Guienne was not even notified of this event, until a considerable time after, by some of the fugitives. The enemy, as we may well believe, hastened to form themselves at this place, and even brought up four pieces of cannon. The Guienne soon posted itself to observe their movements, after sending word to M. de Montcalm. It was then about nine o'clock. Leaving the camp promptly

[1] This war furnished many examples of this kind. Almost all the attacks of the English were made at points where the situation appeared to present a bar to any attempt. — *Note in Original.*

[2] Colonel Howe at the head of the light infantry and Scotch Highlanders, climbed the cliff with much ardor and courage. — *Ib.*

with the army under arms, M. de Montcalm took with him the regiments and the colonial troops, with about three or four hundred Canadians, leaving the rest to observe the enemy lower down the river. M. de Vaudreuil wished that they should remain at Quebec, and that the various detachments should be recalled. This advice was doubtless the wisest, but M. de Montcalm judged it more expedient to go and attack the enemy who were making their landing. They had already effected this, and had then drawn up in position. The general sent orders to M. de Bougainville to rejoin him and he marched with about fifteen hundred men, among whom were many Canadians scattered through the regiments to make them more numerous. These people were fit only for a petty warfare, and besides this were but poorly armed, having no bayonets and some only common fowling pieces, and produced a bad effect in action.

Some lieutenant-colonels represented to M. de Montcalm that he ought at least to await the arrival of the elite corps of Bougainville, as the enemy had already landed. He took it in ill grace that they should make these suggestions, and marched in very light order against the enemy, still in line of battle and across a thick wheat field, while his troops were out of breath from rapid marching. The officers foreboded no good from this hasty manœuvre. The army meanwhile was joined by the Guienne, and formed. The detached Canadians threw themselves into the bushes, upon the

flanks of the enemy's army, and in a short time their fire killed quite a number. Their general Wolfe was mortally wounded.

Our army which advanced upon the enemy without having rested on its rapid march, took position behind the large walls which formed the enclosure of the fields, with two pieces of cannon on their flanks. They were received by two volleys of grape, and by musketry, to which they replied once or twice as they marched, but the enemy's fire which had increased, soon arrested the advance and confused the Canadians who were little accustomed to find themselves out of cover. They quitted their ranks and fled. The soldiers in the rear also disbanded. M. de Montcalm who was on horseback, dashed off to stop and rally them, when he received a gunshot wound in his loins. Many officers fell upon the field, and others were captured, but mostly wounded. The English pursued briskly as far as to Quebec.[1]

M. de Bougainville, who had marched at once, at-

[1] On the plains of Abraham is a monument to commemorate the events of this day. It is a Doric shaft, forty feet high, surmounted by a Roman helmet and sword, of bronze, and upon the pedestal is engraved the time and circumstances of its erection, with the inscription: HERE DIED WOLFE VICTORIOUS, 1759. It is the second shaft that has been erected at this place.

In a garden on Durham Terrace in Quebec, the Earl Dalhousie, governor of Canada in 1827, procured the erection of a monument to the memory of WOLFE AND MONTCALM. A Latin inscription recites the date and origin of the monument, beginning with the classic and sublime expression: "Military prowess gave them a common death: History a common fame: Posterity a common monument." — ED.

tacked some guards of the enemy in the houses to the rear, but upon hearing of the loss of the battle, he awaited orders as to what he should do. M. de Vaudreuil thought there was no better expedient than to collect his army and ascend the river St. Charles a short distance, and endeavor to gain Point au Tremble. The whole camp was at once abandoned, as he wished to divert none from this movement. The officers and soldiers thus lost their effects and provisions, which they might have carried with them.

We left in Quebec six hundred men of piquets for a garrison, under the orders of M. de Ramsay, major of the place. M. de Montcalm died the next day of his wounds, a real hero, — that is to say, a Christian hero, after having written to General Townshend, who had succeeded to the command of the English, recommending the French prisoners to his clemency. The intrepidity, of which M. de Montcalm had evinced so many proofs, did not abandon him in his last moments. The love of glory did not with him eclipse his devotion to the interests of his country. The purity of his motives, and his disinterestedness always equalled his valor, which he regarded too much in this last action. His loss was keenly felt by his troops, and the officers gave public evidence of their love and regret.[1]

[1] It was according to their request, and at the solicitation of M. de Bougainville, that the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres, in 1761, prepared his epitaph. Some of these officers furnished the subject of a print designed by young Watteau, and engraved by Mr. [Thomas] Chambers, an Englishman, in honor of M. de Montcalm. The gen-

General Wolfe also died upon the field.[1] He possessed the greatest ardor, and had asked the admiral to make this attempt as his last, because the English fleet wished to return, fearing to be caught with the foul weather that usually begins at that season. The general said as he was dying: "*I die contented, since I can see the French flee.*"

The whole French army quietly assembled at Point au Tremble, where M. de Lévis arrived at the same time. He saw himself still at the head of about five thousand men, who had good courage, and no one was blamed for this sad event. He resolved to march

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eral is represented upon a camp bed, near his tent, supported by M. de Montreuil, field marshal, his friend, and the depositary of his last wishes, and by M. de Bougainville, his pupil and former aid-de-camp and who both look upon him with tenderness. It is at the moment when he feels himself ready to expire, and he asks his officers and friends to bury him in a pit that had been made by a bursting bomb near his side. Some Indians are busy throwing out of this hole the fragments of the bomb. A group of officers and soldiers assembled around his bed, give the most decided expression to their grief. In the second group, we recognize as officers, Generals Sénézergue and Fontbonne, who commanded the two wings of his army, and were killed in the action. They are being carried by the soldiers to the tent of the general's headquarters, where we already see many wounded officers. In the distance, are seen a group of combatants and of the dead and dying, among whom we recognize young Wolfe, whom they would fain recall to life, and still beyond, the unhappy city of Quebec, wasting under the flames that are belched forth upon it by the enemy's fleet. — *Note in Original.*

A further account of the inscription to the memory of Montcalm is given in the appendix. — Ed.

[1] Official reports give the loss of the English on the 13th of September, as 664 of all ranks, killed, wounded and missing. — *Knox's Journal*, ii, 81. — Ed.

immediately to attack the English, and sent on M. de la Roche a cavalry captain, and his troops, carrying with them sacks of biscuit, to enter Quebec. He was charged to notify M. de Ramsey of the arrival of M. de Lévis, who urged him to hold fast. His commander replied that he was too late, and that he had already capitulated, that his word was pledged, and that he was out of provisions. M. de la Roche informed him that he must return and await orders from M. de Lévis.

The English after winning the battle, were so surprised at this lucky event, that they were undecided as to the course they should take, — whether to retire, or lay siege to Quebec, which to them appeared a task very long in view of the season. They were very agreeably surprised to see that we proposed to capitulate the place. The commandant of Quebec could not refuse the solicitations of the inhabitants, who sought rather to save their goods than their country. The English therefore granted everything that they asked.

M. de la Roche soon returned to report to M. de Lévis upon his mission, and found him already near. The general hastened his march to forestall or fight the English, but on arriving before the city was surprised to see it already guarded by the English army. He was obliged to return to Point au Tremble with all his forces, overwhelmed at this unexpected event.[1]

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[1] The capitulation was signed on the 18th of September. — Ed.

We will here observe, that if M. de Montcalm had chosen to come, and post himself with his troops, in front of Quebec, under a part of the citadel, he might have put upon the ramparts a great number of guns to protect them, having at least two hundred pieces. Then, with the detachment of M. de Bougainville joined, the enemy would have neither been able to dislodge him nor to besiege the place. They would not have been able, in view of the season, to remain much longer in their position, and should they attempt to reëmbark, they would have run the risk of receiving a heavy check. It was the same with M. de Ramsey. His place, although bad, was proof against an assault, and the enemy would have required at least three or four days to throw up batteries. M. de Lévis would meanwhile have attacked them, or by taking position near by, would have stopped all their operations. They would even have found it difficult to get away. Quebec being still held, it is not probable that England would have made new attempts, from which they could scarcely hope for a happy result. The capture of this city occupied them still, including the efforts they made in 1760. They left a very large garrison at Quebec under the orders of General Murray.[1]

The French formed their principal head quarters for the winter at Point au Tremble[2] and Jacques

[1] This garrison numbered 8,209 men.— Ed.

[2] Under M. de Repentigny.— Ed.

Quartier,[1] which posts they fortified. The regiments and troops of the colony were distributed in the villages and at Montreal, where the generals and the intendant remained. They then undertook an exchange of prisoners, and in November, the officers of the Niagara garrison returned, with those of the detachment of Trépezac, to the number of fifteen, with two hundred and fifty militia, fifty French soldiers, and as many more of the colony. They excepted Bonnafoux, an artillery officer, from this exchange, under the pretext that he did not belong to this corps.

Near Saratoga,[2] they met General Amherst, with his army, who had gone into winter quarters. He sent his aid-de-camp, Abercromby, to M. Pouchot, to send by him some letters to Canada. The officers who commanded at the English forts, they were obliged to pass, received them with the greatest possible politeness, and could have added nothing to the attentions they bestowed.

At the Falls of Carillon, the French officers were obliged to remain seven or eight days on account of the trickery of the commandant of the fort. Major Rogers arrived in this interval. He had been with a party of about four hundred men to our mission at St.

[1] Under M. Dumas, Major General of the Marine.— Ed.

[2] From this post the army was hereafter to leave to finish the conquest of all the Canadas, and here the British empire in America, has in our day received a disastrous blow. Such are the results of chance!—*Note in Original.*

François upon Lake St. Peters. He there found this Abenakis village deprived of its warriors, and killed thirty women and old men, and took away some young persons as prisoners. As he was short of provisions, he separated his troops into several bands, to return to Fort George. All perished of want and famine in the woods except that of Rogers, who fortunately had a Moraigan Loup for a guide. There returned only twenty-one men, all gaunt and haggard.

The ice having formed during the march of the detachment, they found themselves caught in the middle of lake Champlain, and it required the utmost care of all hands to reach the shore with the boats which were thin, and cut by the blades of ice. In the evening, the French soldiers were obliged to convert their bateaux into sledges, and travel with much risk upon the newly formed ice, and had to surround themselves with poles from four or eight feet long. They arrived after much difficulty, on New Year's eve at Montreal. They were well received, on account of the reinforcements they brought, and M. Pouchot was warmly greeted by MM. de Vaudreuil and de Lévis.

During the winter, many parties of French, Canadians and Indians were sent out, to molest the garrisons of St. Frederic and Quebec. They also labored diligently upon preparations to retake that city at the first onset, and this being known to the English, kept them in a state of continual apprehension, which

tired out the garrison and occasioned the loss of fifteen hundred men.[1]

Meanwhile Canada was in a most deplorable condition from the want of provisions and merchandize of every sort. Wine was valued during the winter, at 2,400 livres the cask of 240 bottles, brandy 1,500 livres the quarter cask, salt at 300 to 400 livres the minot, corn 30 to 48 livres the bushel of 45 pounds; mutton 3 livres the pound; horse, 1 liv. 4 sol; an ox 400 to 500 livres; a calf 50 to 60 livres; a turkey 50 livres; a pair of shoes 30 livres, &c. Every thing had an arbitrary price, and a cord of wood, which commonly sold for six livres, now sold at from 80 to 100 livres. The intendant made money as much as he could, to assist these prices, but never thought of taxing any body for any thing, because he found his advantage, and that of his associates in all these advances. They had care to take up all the provisions and merchan-

[1] The garrison suffered much from scurvy during the winter. The troops were obliged to cut wood at a distance from the fort, and draw it in by hand. "The cold was protracted and intense, and this hardship proved almost unsupportable.— *Mante*, 273, 332.

Notwithstanding the English occupation of Quebec, eight or ten vessels from Montreal laden with peltries, attempted to run by on the night of Nov. 14, and all but one succeeded in passing. Lemercier, commandant of artillery, reached France in safety, and presented the most urgent claims for material aid to Canada. Instead of an efficient reinforcement, the ministers addressed a patriotic letter, which did not come to hand until the following June, in which those in charge of the defence of Canada were recommended "to dispute the country foot by foot, and to maintain to the end the honor of the French arms, to what extremity soever they might come to be reduced." — *Garneau*, iii, 233.

dize, which they re sold to the king and to individuals. The inhabitants who had been under arms all through the campaign, were at least half out of their pay. They took from them their corn and their cattle to feed the troops. For these articles, they were, it is true, paid a large price, on paper, which was plenty, but nevertheless did not buy articles of necessity, The discredit it thus started, increased every fortnight.[1] This state of affairs increased more and more until the surrender of the Canadas. A cask of wine in the summer, arose to ten thousand livres, and every thing else in proportion.

It may perhaps be asked how troops could get along, as they got none of their pay? Gaming supplied it. The most one could imagine in France, is nothing in comparison with what they played here.[2] The intendant and the ladies of the company, as well

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[1] General Murray profited by this cruel condition of affairs, and sold provisions to the French, thereby gaining a great deal of money in a short time. If the English believed that relief so interested, deserved a monument in Fox Hall, they are deceived, or their vanity has wished them to be.—*Note in Original.*

[2] In relation to this practice, M. de Montcalm in writing to the Count d'Argenson, April 24th, 1757, says:

"I have found that our officers were inclined to games of hazard. I proposed to M. de Vaudreuil to prohibit them; I even placed an officer under arrest. There was no play either at Quebec or Montreal until M. de Vaudreuil's arrival at Quebec. M. Bigot loves to gamble. M. de Vaudreuil thought proper to permit a bank at M. Bigot's. I said what I considered my duty, but did not wish to forbid our officers playing at it; t'was displeasing to M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot; the good of the service requires the contrary."—*N. Y. Col. Hist.*, x, 551.—Ed.

as the Canadian officers, the most of whom had gained largely by their trade ventures, lost these sums by which the French officers profited, and some of them sent large amounts of money to France. The one party sold their brandy and goods very dearly; the other by their second-hand dealings, amassed quite little fortunes. The easy citizens, found a pleasure in feeding their defenders, and they lived very cordially together. Common misfortunes made their union more effective.

M. Pouchot is able to cite an example, and would have been glad to name his benefactress. This lady finding herself alone with him one day said; — "Sir, provisions are very dear, and it is very difficult to get any at any rate. Let us live together, you putting in what you have, I will do the same, and we will get along much more easily." M. Pouchot who had arrived in heart of winter, and had not been able to provide himself with provisions, thought himself lucky if he escaped by paying for them the trouble of hunting them up. During the two months and a half that he staid at Montreal, he often urged her to take money, but she always replied that they would reckon up at the end of winter. When he departed, he wished to pay her, her share which amounted to two thousand livres, but he could not by the most urgent entreaties, induce this generous woman to accept this sum. Many other officers might relate a similar case.

1760. At the beginning of March, MM. de Vaudreuil and de Lévis, determined to send M. Pouchot upon the ice, to take command of Fort Lèvis, upon the Isle of Orakointon, near La Presentation, and to recall M. des Androins, an engineer, who had remained there since September.[1] This engineer was needed for the siege of Quebec, towards which the most active preparations were made as rapidly as possible. M. Pouchot realized all the difficulties of this commission with which he was now charged, on ac-

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[1] A German soldier who was captured, or who deserted from the French at Oswego, gave the following statement of the condition of affairs on the St. Lawrence during the summer of 1759:

"Hennery Young, a German, born near the Rhine, came to this country 2 years ago in a merch^t ship with 20 of y^e same comp'y^s colony troops. He was inlisted by one of Fisher's officers for 3 years. Arrived at Quebec, there he served 2 months. From thence he was sent to M^t Real where he did duty as a soldier 2 months. From thence he was ordered to La Galette in comp'y w^th 4 Bateaux loaded with flour & brandy. They lay 10 days wind bound at a bay where there stands a wind mill on the north side. They were a month by the way to La Galette. Some of y^e Cargoe was left at La Galette the rest went to Cadaraqui. He has been a sold^r in y^e fort of Swegatchy from that time untill last Spring. The garrison consisted of 40 men who were generally employed in cutting timber for 2 stone houses w^ch were built within y^e fort, and were almost finished when he left it. The one was for y^e Comm^dt the other for the Priests of whom they have three. Before the snow was quite gone last spring he was sent to work on the island called Isle Gallot and 25 of y^e Garrison of La Galette. The fort of La Galette is a square, w^th 4 good Block houses, and Stockaded. They intended to have made some add^tl works round it early the last spring, but had not time. It is commanded by a rising ground w^ch is not above 400 paces from y^e fort. No cannon nor mortar there. They had 1000 barrels of flower & Pork at La Galette w^ch on hearing by y^e Ind^ns of an English army designed that way, was carried to Isle Galot, that y^e English might not

count of the scanty resources at his command to do a good work. But his zeal for the good of the service, led him to overlook all these difficulties. They promised to send him, when the summer opened, a corps of 1,200 or 1,500 Canadians.

He was stripped of every thing. After having lost a part of his equipage at Niagara, he had been forced to abandon all the rest on his return from New England. He was therefore obliged to collect another small equipment, and gather some provisions for this

find it. It lay abt 3 weeks on ye Island, was then Shipped for Niagara in 2 vessels, the third vessel not quite so large (wch was designed for Carrying Stores &c) was within a little of being finished when ye carpenters were called to Quebec. The vessels were built at Pt Paris [Baril] 3 leagues from La Gallette.

He never saw any of ye vessels come lower down than the Point where built, but heard ye French say, they could come to ye beginning of ye 5 islands, of which Isle Galot is the lower most. The water begins to be rapid at ye first island, and grows more so downwards. The 25 men of ye garrison of La Galete sent to Isle Galot last Spring, were there a Month; then joined by 200 men from Point Paris, began to cut down the trees. The underwood they threw along ye banks of ye Island. They then dug a trench of 9 feet deep, & the same broad, and made a breastwork of logs filled with earth 12 feet broad, mounted thereon 12 cannon, he thinks 12 pdrs and 2 small do, one of wch the informant says he carried. These guns are mounted so as to fire upon the bateaux coming down, which must pass within Musquet shot of the intrenchment, the river not being very broad there. Bateaux may pass any where between the Island and the Maine. He left Isle Galot abt ye 24th of June last wth Chevr La Corn, who was 18 days on the Island during wch time he employed all the men he brought with him in strengthening ye Island, drawing stones from near Swegatchy for building ovens Powder Magazine and a dwelling houese. When La Corn marched for Oswego, he left but 100 men on Isle Galot, 3 at Swegatchy, 12 at Point Paris, and a small guard at Frontenack. He marched with 1,200 men here & 115 Inds. In his

campaign, which cost him extremely dear. As he had still to travel on the ice, he asked of the intendant a blanket, but he had the barbarity to refuse him. The commissary presented him with a keg of wine of twelve pots, a considerable affair as things then stood. This was all that he received from the king.

M. Pouchot left on the 17th of March, with the Abbé Picquet, missionary at La Presentation, five men and three sleds. But before noticing the success of

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way he halted a day at Point Paris, where he gave the men some necessary mounting for the march, and sent to Isle Galot for 3 bateaux of provisions.

At Point Paris there was a breastwork, but the cannon were carried down to Isle Galot, and the few men left there had orders to level it, as it was judged an improper place to make a stand on several accts, besides, the river is so wide there, the boats may pass unmolested [on] the other side of the river. He says he heard often, that when the English were going down towards Canada, the vessels were to go to Niagara. Further this Deponent knows not.

The Informant says further, that he always heard and understood, that in Case the English should Come by the way of La Galette all the other little posts on this side of it were to retreat and join them at La Gallette. That Mr. La Corne, when coming here, ordered a quantity of pitch ready to burn the vessel then on ye Stocks, in case of our coming that way. They have also a guard of 12 men on Isle Chevreaux, to give the alarm in case of our moving that way. The guard were relieved every eight days from Frontenack. He also says that Mr. Celerons Cook, who was here wth La Corne, told him that they were to return to Quebec or Carillon after this affair of Oswego was over.

Oswego, 31*st August*, 1759.

[P. S.] He says that very few Swegatchy Inds were wth Mr. La Corne, and that few of them were seen at La Galette since last spring. — *Sir Wm. Johnson's MSS.*

The post at Isle Chevreaux [Buck Island, or Carlton Island] was strongly fortified by the English in the Revolution. — Ed.

this journey, we will here relate that of the Quebec expedition.

On the 23d of April, the ice began to go. Each regiment, and the whole army received orders to leave with their supplies and artillery for the siege of that place. Each troop carried its provisions in the bateaux assigned them, and they were allowed a quarter of pound of pork and a pound and a half of bread per man for their subsistence.[1] The bateaux followed the ice, and arrived at a league above Quebec. The enemy could not have expected such an arrival on account of the state of the river. They were unfortunately notified by three cannoniers who seeing their bateaux caught and crushed between the ice, got upon a large piece, and were carried down to Quebec, where they were stopped. Upon this news, the enemy sent out advance guards, with the design of making an intrenched camp above the place. Their guards were driven from the houses they occupied, and the army passed the night within a quarter of a league of Quebec. It rained and froze, and we may judge of the condition of these troops in the fields covered with snow or in the slop. On the morning of the 28th, the enemy came to occupy the field they had intended for their flanks covered by twelve cannon and howitzers, and our troops found them in line of battle.

As our troops arrived, they formed from our left to

[1] This expedition consisted of 6,910 officers and men. — *Garneau*, iii, 240.

right; first Guienne, then Béarn, Berri, La Sarre, Royal-Roussillon, the Colonials, Languedoc, the Canadians, the Queen's, the cavalry and a few Indians. This was nearly the order in which they entered the battle field. The English had caused Frazer's Scotch regiment to occupy a house upon their right,[1] who found themselves opposite the Guienne and Béarn, and these began an engagement on our left. These two battalions, with their grenadiers soon drove them out, and it was retaken two or three times.

While the enemy was forming, the English fired their artillery and howitzers with grape, which killed quite a number of our people. M. de Bourlamaque was wounded in his leg, and his horse was killed.[2] M. de Lévis who saw that his right did not promptly arrive, wished to fall back to a fence which he saw in his rear, to await their arrival, and thus charge together. The regiments of Guienne and Béarn, upon being notified of this, and feeling themselves in a dangerous position if the enemy should return and occupy this house, hesitated about executing this manœuvre, while the enemy taking the movement on our right as ordered by M. de Lévis for a retreat, advanced in front of their artillery to pursue our troops. This left the Guienne and Béarn upon a

[1] Dumont's mill, with the house, tannery and other buildings around it. — *Garneau*, iii, 250. — Ed.

[2] Bourlamaque commanded the left wing of the French army. He was severely wounded by a cannon ball which killed his horse. — Ed.

hillock on their right flank, and the commandants of these two battalions Manneville and d'Alquier, thought this a proper moment for them to charge. It should be observed, that these two battalions had already lost much in their bold attack upon the very brave Scotch regiment in the house. They were almost entirely destroyed, as well as the grenadiers of our two battalions. The latter attacked the English, and all our right marched again upon them at the same time. They were broken in an instant, and those who remained behind soon came up and joined them. We took their artillery and all their implements.

We pursued them nearly to Quebec, but not vigorously. Our troops were exhausted and in bad condition, being thinned down by their scanty nourishment. We have seen that they had left their quarters on the 20th, and since then they had been constantly without tents, and exposed to rain and snow. It is certain that if they had attempted to run, very few of the English would have got into Quebec, and the place would have been ours, as there were left there only some sick and lame.

The enemy's loss amounted to twelve hundred men killed, wounded or captured. Our loss was one hundred and thirty officers killed or wounded, and three hundred and ninety soldiers. The Chevalier de Lévis, upon this occasion, conducted himself with great intelligence and spirit. Seeing the forward movement of the enemy, which made them lose a great advan-

tage, he seized the moment to charge, which order was executed by our troops with the greatest vigor. There were quite a number of Indians in our army but they would not "bite." They found this business too hot, and they greatly admired the firmness of our regiments who were being plowed down by their numerous artillery and were, notwithstanding this, steadily advancing.[1]

On the next day, we opened trenches before Quebec on the side of the citadel, but of this we will not give the journal, because it is well enough known. After intrenching eight or ten days, we battered the place with our artillery, which was in small number, and the pieces in such poor condition that they burst when a little heated. The cannon in the town, which was very heavy and in fine condition, disabled and killed many of our men. The English were on the point of surrendering. They had no other hope than from the

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[1] The Indians, who, with a few exceptions, had taken no part in this action, kept themselves in the woods to the rear, but scattered over the battle field while the French were pursuing the fugitives, and knocked down many of the English wounded and took their scalps. General Lévis when informed of this, took vigorous measures to stop these barbarians, and dispersed them as quickly as they came. The rest of the English wounded, were collected and treated in the same manner as the French.

The ground on which they had fought, presented a repulsive spectacle. Three thousand men had been stricken down by the firing in a brief space of time, upon a very narrow spot. The snow and water which covered the ground were reddened with blood, that the frozen earth could not absorb, and these unfortunates were weltering in these livid pools, and sunk half leg deep in many places." — *Garneau*, iii, 257.

arrival of a fleet. It was the same with the French army. We said: "If our vessels of succor enter first, Quebec is taken, and we shall be safe." Thus the two parties were left in the most painful anxiety.[1]

On the 12th we had knowledge of some English vessels in the river. On the 15th they sent up some vessels, among which was one of seventy-four guns and two frigates,[2] which attacked two of ours that were covering our depots.[3] They took them after a long combat, which obliged us to raise the siege very

[1] "Thus all parties, besiegers and besieged, turned their eyes down the river, from whence both hoped to see their salvation come. The powers upon land, in this distant country, were so evenly balanced, that the one who should hold the sceptre of the seas, might by placing it in his scale, incline the balance on his side, and the vast domains of New France would become his glorious heritage. On the 9th of May an English frigate entered the port. 'Such was the garrison's anxiety,' says the writer we cite, 'that we remained some time in suspense, not having eyes enough to look at it, but we were soon convinced that she was British, although there were some among us, who having their motives for appearing wise, sought to temper our joy by obstinately insisting that she was French. But the vessel having saluted the fort with twenty-one guns, and launched her small boat, all these doubts vanished. It is impossible to describe the gayety that seized upon the garrison. Officers and men mounted the ramparts, mocked at the French, and for an hour raised continual hurras, and threw their caps into the air. The city, the enemy's camp, the harbor, and the country around, for miles in extent, reëchoed our cries, and the roar of our batteries.'" — *Knox*, ii, 310; *Garneau*, iii, 261.

The first vessel that arrived was the Leostoff frigate, Captain Deane. The van guard ship-of-war and the Diana frigate arrived May 15th, and the naval action which followed, occurred on the 16th. — Ed.

[2] This was the division of Commodore Swanton, which preceded the squadron of Lord Colvill, that left Halifax on the 22d of April. — *Note in Original.*

[3] This little French fleet was under the orders of M. Vauquelin who was wounded. — Ed.

precipitately.[1] We sought to ruin the artillery, which we could not remove for want of vehicles.[2] Our army fell back to Point au Tremble, and left its hospitals, which were in the houses of the religious orders outside of Quebec.[3] The English fleet brought five or six thousand men, who landed, and with the marines formed a force of eight or ten thousand men.

Our army could only dispute the ground at Point au Tremble, and were obliged to fall back upon the Island of Montreal. The English in August, sent up their frigates and armed shallops, accompanied by land forces, and dislodged us successively from our posts, which we abandoned before allowing them to be invested by troops. As the English came to a village, they would make the inhabitants swear the oath of allegiance. It is thought they would have come up

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[1] On the night of May 16-17. — Ed.

[2] This is sometimes known as the battle of Sillery. The movements are related with great detail in *Knox's Campaigns*, ii, 292, 328. — Ed.

[3] May 16. "Early this morning, the vanguard and frigates [Leostoff and Diana] worked up with the tide of flood, and attacked the French squadron: At first M. Vauqeulin showed an appearance of engaging, but soon made off. Our ships forced the Pomona ashore, and burned her; then pursued the others; drove the Atlanta also ashore near Point au Tremble and set her on fire; took and destroyed all the rest, except la Marie, a small sloop of war, who, to avoid being taken, threw her guns overboard, and escaped to St. Peter's Lake, above the Three Rivers. After the commodore, eminent for his valor, great abilities in naval affairs, faithful services, and long experience, had performed this morning's notable business, he fell down to the channel off Sillery, laid his broadside to the right flank of the enemy's trenches, and enfiladed them for several hours so warmly, that, between his fire and that of the garrison, they were entirely driven

faster, had they not awaited news from the other armies which were to attack upon other frontiers.

That on the side of Lake Champlain, had not attracted the first attention of the enemy. About three or four hundred of our men had wintered at the Isle aux Noix, where they labored to put this place in the best condition for defence.[1] From thence, during the winter, they had sent out many parties, who always returned with some prisoners. Langis had been very fortunate this spring. This officer, who was the best partisan of the colonial troops, and who had served so well in the two last campaigns, was unfortunately drowned in attempting to cross a river in a canoe with two men. They were not actually taken in at first, but a cake of ice getting suddenly detached, struck the canoe and drowned them.

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from their works. M. de Lévis sent two field pieces to play upon the vanguard, but without any effect, for, by the ship's sheering in the current, she brought some of her guns to bear upon those of the enemy, and obliged them to retire.

"Friday Afternoon, [16th.] We have the pleasure to see large bodies of Canadians filing off towards Charlebourg and Beauport, and others down the south country, that have found means to get across the river; hence we flatter ourselves that M. de Lévis is going to raise the siege. Some deserters, who are just arrived, confirm us in our conjecture, by assuring us, that the militia are ordered to return to their respective parishes, and the regular and colony troops to march back to Jacques Cartier: they add, that our artillery has done amazing execution to the enemy's camp; that the regiment de Guienne lost five hundred men in the late engagement, and near three hundred since that day by our shot and shell. — *Knox's Journal*, ii, 318. — Ed.

[1] These works were entrusted to M. de Lusignan. — Ed.

After the affair at Quebec, we sent M. de Bougainville with a thousand men to the Isle aux Noix, where he remained very quietly all summer. He sent out but a few detachments, which went rather to reconnoitre than to annoy. The force of the English at St. Frederic, consisted of two regiments of militia, forming three or four thousand men.[1] In the month of August, this corps left in bateaux and flat boats, to enter the river St. John. We had placed a stockade of piles across the channel, which was defended by the Island. The English were obliged to raise their batteries upon brands of wood in the grounds around the island and above this stockade, because they were overflowed. At the end of two or three days of cannonade on both sides, our garrison left the island, and by passing through the woods, and marching sometimes in the water, arrived at La Prairie. They were doubtless ordered by MM. de Vaudreuil and de Lévis not to allow themselves to be taken, but to come and reinforce Montreal.

The English being masters of the Isle aux Noix, advanced to St. John and Chambly. They had some skirmishes in the woods between St. John and the open fields of La Praire, and while the English were passing these, the French crossed to the island of Montreal.

It is now time to resume the operations upon the

[1] This army was under Brig. Gen. Haviland. Its organization is described in *Knox's Journal*, ii, 392. — Ed.

frontier of the Upper St. Lawrence, from whence a large English army was coming down under general Amherst. As the events which transpired there, have been related by no one, we will here enter upon them in great detail.[1]

M. des Androis having gone from Fort Lévis, it was left with M. Pouchot and a hundred and fifty colonial soldiers or militia, six Canadian officers, M. Bertrand, an officer of artillery, MM. Celerons, brothers, La Boularderie, de Bleury and de Poilly, cadets of the colony. There were there the captains of the two corvettes, la Force, and la Broquerie and their crews of 180 men.

The fort had only been made as a rampart rivetted with saucissons. The barracks, magazines and officers' quarters, and other structures for use in the fort, were finished of wood, piece upon piece, and covered with planks. M. Pouchot to render this post susceptible of defence, built upon the parapet which was eighteen feet wide, another of nine feet, of timber piece upon piece, and filled with earth, which he was obliged to bring from off the island. In this parapet he made embrasures. Under this parapet they left a berm four feet wide on the outside, furnished with a

[1] It might have been more brief, but the pleasure of speaking of events in which one took a principal part, always governs the authors of historical memoirs. A part of these details possess however the advantage of making us better acquainted with the spirit and character of the Indians, than all the relations of travelers.— *Note in Original.*

fraise. What was left of the first parapet on the inside would serve as a banquette. The rampart was thus made eleven feet high on the outside and eleven within. This addition was indispensable to cover somewhat the interior of the fort, which was commanded by grounds of twenty-four feet elevation from the islands of la Cuisse and la Magdeleine.

M. Pouchot also caused to be made a gallery of pieces of oak, fourteen inches square and ten feet long. It extended along the rampart, and served him as a terre-plein, and underneath as casemates. The batteries were placed upon this gallery or platform all around the island. He formed an epaulment, four feet in thickness of earth, taken mostly from the bed of the river, the island itself being only about two feet above the water around the border. An abattis of branches of trees was placed upon the outside of this epaulment, and extended out as far as possible into the water, to prevent boats from landing. At the point of the island this epaulment was terminated by a redoubt of timbers, laid piece upon piece and pierced for five cannon. On both sides of the island, there were left two places formed as quays, so that our boats could there land.

All these works occupied the little garrison, which was only increased by a hundred militia during the whole campaign. As most of these militia had been taken only to bring provisions, at least twenty deserted and returned down the river with the bateaux

they were using in the service of the island, bringing articles from the shore, as there was found upon it neither soil, stone nor timber. The ditches, which were five toises wide, had to be only two feet deep to be filled with water. We were obliged to form along a part of the epaulment, banquettes from the oak chips made in squaring the timbers.

The glacis was made of M. Pouchot's fire wood, which he covered a little in front where it was exposed, on the side towards the Isle de la Magdeleine. They collected all the old iron that could be found in the ruins of Fort Frontenac, and eight pieces of cannon without their trunions, and for the latter made frames like mortar carriages, so that they could be served.

Upon the arrival of M. Pouchot, all the Indians of La Presentation with Kouatageté, the famous Indian who had seized the English guard by leaping through a window, came to congratulate him. He had caused himself to be instructed and baptized. Although he had formerly served us well, M. Pouchot could not now engage him to go on war parties, from religious scruples which forbade him to kill. He understood none of our distinctions.

On the 30th of March, there arrived an Oneida chief, named Tacoua Onenda, (Buried meat), a friend of the English. He asked to speak in council with Sategarouaen,— M. Pouchot, and said :

" My father, I thank the Master of Life, for having

given me a fine day to arrive here in health, so that I might have the pleasure of seeing my father, and of finding him also in good health. I am not sent here by our chiefs. I have only come to see you.

"I have always applied myself to labor for the public good. I used to go often to Montreal to see Onontio,[1] and talk with him concerning good affairs. When I returned to my cabin, I was all sweating and tired, and they railed at me. Since then I have always remained quiet upon my mat, without going out of my house. Some days ago I set out to come this way hunting, and our chiefs said to me; 'When you go to the neighborhood of Onontio, carry a word on our behalf to the people of La Presentation, and if you do not meet them, go to see Onontio.[2] You will say to him, that our people have been to consult with Johnson, how we might anticipate those who have carried the words of twenty nations to know what we could best do for promoting the public good.' I have been myself to hold this council, our chiefs being absent having charged me with it. Johnson told me that he thanked me for what we wished to do right concerning the word of the nations, and advised us not to go to the Saut,[3] to our father's house. He added, that those who had been to advise with, and

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[1] That is, the governor.— *Note in Original.*

[2] That is, to M. Pouchot. They confounded under this word, all the commandants.— *Ib.*

[3] An Iroquois mission just above Montreal.— *Ib.*

report to him by message, had spoken well, and as well as the old chiefs who spoke of good affairs, but he exhorted them to induce the people at the Saut, and all the other nations who wished to hold council, to come to the village of the Onondagas, where was the ancient fire place of the nations,[1] from whence they had taken brands to shine elsewhere. This was the best way.

"He said also, that the Outaouais of Detroit, had sent them word, that they would come at an early day to hold a council with the Senecas, and that if they absented themselves by going down by the Saut, they would find their cabins empty.

"If they held councils, in different places, they did not know what would be the effect upon one another. The Five Nations were determined to follow the advice of Johnson, and sent to La Fonte des Glaces some deputies to the Saut, to invite their brothers to meet them at Onondaga, which they had decided upon as being the best place to hold it."

We saw by this discourse, that Johnson was bent on nothing so much as to turn off the Five Nations and our allies from following the sentiments of friendship they had for us, and the wishes of M. de Vaudreuil.

M. Pouchot replied in these words: — "I thank the Master of Life for having led you hither in good

[1] He wished to designate the antiquity of the nation, and its superiority to others.— *Note in Original.*

health, and also that I am able to speak with you quietly concerning good affairs. I invite you to open your ears well, to hear what I am going to say. I am surprised, if you come on the part of the chiefs, that you have not at least brought strings, to make me know that you come on their behalf.

"It is to you then that I address my words. The nations that have sent this word[1] to the Iroquois, have no intentions of holding a council with them, or with Johnson either, upon any thing. You know he is the enemy of your father Onontio. In addressing themselves to you, they thought you would still wish to be of the number of Onontio's children. This word would notify the Five Nations, to let their English brother alone, as he was embroiling the land, and they invited the Five Nations to remain quiet, and not get into difficulty with their father Onontio, nor with them, as would surely happen, and if they did not make terms with their father, they would kill them as traitors, as well as their warriors, who had raised their hand against him. This word came from the nations of Detroit, and the French commandants in that country had taken a great deal of pains to always retain these Indians, who wished to come and strike you, but your father has still a tender heart for his children, whose fear of the English has made

[1] These words were sent by our Indians according to the intentions of M. de Vaudreuil, who had decided them, in that course.—*Note in Original.*

them lose their courage. He prevents them from attacking you. You may judge by these words which were addressed to the Senecas, as to who were the first to embroil the country. If you regard yourselves still as the children of Onontio, you have no advice to take from your brother Johnson, who is his enemy. It is a bad road to take to bring peace to the land.

"I know well enough into what *Savanne*,[1] Johnson and your dear English brothers would throw you. They will treat you, and your other Indian friends, worse than their dogs and negroes. You will not have leave to lie down in their forts. They will give you only a little poor whiskey, and when you are drunk, the English throw you out of doors. I know they would be glad to hang some, and cut off the heads of others. You cannot deny this truth, that all the children of Onontio are free and tranquil in their own country. They have only to make their neighborhood the same.

"As for myself, whom you have named, "The-midst-of-good-affairs," although I have notice that you deceived me, I have nevertheless notified you of what will happen if you let go of our hand. This intelligence, and all these belts which you have given me to assure me of your affection, would not prevent you from striking me. Although you have killed me,[2] you see that I have come here to make you resume your

[1] Muddy water, or drowned prairie.— *Note in Original.*

[2] Captured at Niagara.— *Ib.*

courage if I am able. Before two moons, you will repent for not having heard the words of a good friend whom your father Onontio has always put forward to speak to you upon good affairs. You say that you are of those who depend only upon the Master of Life. I am sorry you always take the bad way which will lose you your liberty. If you wish to go and see your brothers at the Saut, go there of your own accord as free people, and your father Onontio will receive you kindly. If you go there at the solicitation of your English brother, to propose bad affairs to our Christian Indians, you will gain nothing, because their resolution is fixed. You will see at Montreal, Indians of all the nations in America, who are of the same feeling. The French see well enough how you are deceived, but they feign to be ignorant of it. You will only become their dupes. In the end the English and the French will come to terms, but all the nations, friends of Onontio, who know all the injury you have caused, will not let you remain any longer at rest, and we shall leave all the roads open so that they can be free to strike you.

"Say to the chiefs of the Five Nations, that I shall be very glad to see them here. I will give them a medicine that will perhaps open their eyes."

This chief also informed M. Pouchot, that having asked Johnson in the same council, to give him some news, he replied, that he did not know any news at present, and that they might all go out hunting until

the Indian corn was as high as the hand,[1] when they might come and see him, as then they would have some news from the other side of the great lake, and he would tell them whether to prepare to march or to remain quiet. He also gave them notice to give up to him all the English blood,[2] they had among them, or otherwise they would repent of it. In consequence of this advice of Johnson, the Cayugas sent word to their warriors, to conceal their hatchets till the middle of summer, and sent word to the other villages to do likewise.

M. de Vaudreuil having desired M. Pouchot to send him all the news possible concerning the enemy, on the first of April, he engaged a chief of La Presentation or Chouegatchi, named Charles, one of those who went to France in 1752 with the Abbé Picquet, to go to Oswego to trade, as if coming in from hunting, and M. Pouchot sent by him some peltries.

This Indian was very adroit, and spoke French very well. On the 19th, Charles returned. He reported that on his arrival at Oswego, he landed at the old fort, where they sent an interpreter to ask from whence and for what he came. He replied, that he was from Chouegatchi, that he had been hunting, and wished to trade some peltries before returning to his village. The commandant and some officers saw him arrive, and said that he must not be allowed to

[1] At the end of May. — *Note in Original.*

[2] Prisoners. — *Ib.*

come into the new fort, because that their interpreter was sick, but that he and his comrades, might stay quietly where they were, and trade with whom they wished. The commandant told them that he very much suspected that having come from near the French, they were there to reconnoitre their forts. They replied, that they had no other design but to trade, and that according to the reception they met, others were preparing to come, upon their return from the chase. If they had come to reconnoitre, they would have passed to the other side of the river, and would have examined all they wished to see, and afterwards made some blow as in the last autumn.

They exchanged the news. The English appeared to be apprehensive of molestation from our two vessels at Fort Lévis, and told Charles that they were going to kindle a great fire at Oswego,[1] and that when a great army had assembled, they would propose to descend to Montreal. They knew the French had a little fort on an island, but they said they could pass it like a beaver's hut, and they ridiculed the idea of our trying to amuse ourselves by building it. Charles saw also at Oswego some Cayuga chiefs, who told him that though the whites designed to fight again this year, for themselves they intended to be quiet and remain neutral. He did not observe at Oswego any increase of troops, nor any building of vessels.

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[1] That is to say — hold a great council. — *Note in Original.*

On the 27th, there arrived at the fort some Missisakes, of whom M. Pouchot intended to make a party. They informed him that Indians of other nations were coming. Kouatageté was baptized this day, Charles representing M. de Vaudreuil as god-father. He then came to the fort, accompanied by all the chiefs and women of the council who had assisted in the ceremony. M. Pouchot presented to the new Christian a fine blanket. They held a great council, the object of which was to send a large embassy to the Five Nations, to make their uncles decide whether they wished to continue to regard them as their relations or not, and to announce to them that they had kindled a fire at Chouegatchi, at the solicitation of the whole nation, who had asked permission of the French generals, so that they could be instructed in the Christian religion, and have a fire on the way, where they could light their pipes when they went to see their father the French. They had been, they said, the first to come and dwell in this place, and that since they had gained a knowledge of religion, they did not wish to quit it, and as a proof of this determination, they were going to sow their fields as usual, and that if any one came to disturb them, they would find some *men*.

M. Pouchot approved of their resolution, and intimated that while inviting them to return and live with the Onondagas, they should observe that the English had wished to entice them into a net that was already thrown around the Five Nations, who had had great

reason to repent the bad treatment they had suffered from the English.

It appeared from the report of many Indians and women, who had prowled around the fort at Oswego, that they could not have there more than three or four hundred English, and that their works were not being increased. There was a rumor there, that the Indians on the Ohio had destroyed the fort at Pittsburgh, but this proved false.

On the 28th, he sent two Indians to Oswego, and M. Pouchot equipped a party of five Missisakes. Kouatageté wished to dissuade him from sending them out from fear of an ambuscade, and because as their fort was not finished, they might rather provoke the English to come and attack them. M. Pouchot made him understand that these Indians left on their own account, that they had nothing to do with his nation, and he did not wish to stop any who showed their good will.

On the 30th, Kouatageté and three other chiefs came to inform M. Pouchot, that there had been in their cabins on the south side of the river, three enemy Indians, Onondagas, two days before. Charles had given notice of this party to the laborers, to be on their guard against them, but they said they had seen nothing. These Indians found everything so well guarded, that they did not get an opportunity to strike. Kouatageté asked leave to go and speak with them, and induced them to come and spend some days with an aunt that lived in this mission. One of them, a son

of Sononguieres, esteemed by the English, had come the autumn before to take three laborers on the fort. He reported that the Cherakis had done the English great damage in the direction of the Great Sabre,[1] and many other details that we will not repeat.

On the 4th, there came two Missisakes, who announced that the chiefs of their nation had a wish to come and settle on this side of the lake. They reported that the English had built a large vessel of eighteen guns, last fall at Niagara, and that this spring they were going to build one still larger.

On the 7th of May, two St. Regis Indians arrived from Oswego, where they had remained seven days. The commandant had issued orders to hold all their bateaux in readiness. Onoroagon, an Onondaga and friend of the English had told them, that Charles had undertaken to send them the news. They announced on their part, that the English army had begun to assemble at Fort Stanwix, that the English vessel of eighteen guns had arrived from Niagara, that the other was momentarily expected, and that Johnson was to hold a great council to assemble the Indians, but that

[1] The Indians designated as belonging to Virginia or Carolina or the *Cherokees*, had begun in 1759 to make incursions, and Governor Littleton of the latter Province had not been able to succeed in checking them. Col. Montgomery marched against them in 1760. After two fruitless expeditions, and the loss of seven or eight hundred men, he was obliged to return. The Cherokees took advantage of this retreat, to seize Fort Loudon and some other posts, and to commit new ravages. It was not till July 1761, that Colonel Grant forced them to sue for peace. — *Note in Original.*

this time, they were resolved to let the English fight alone.

On the 9th, all the chiefs of La Presentation came to the fort to find M. Pouchot. They had there with them, one named Saoten, a strong partisan of the English, of whom he boasted himself. He received them at the house of the interpreter, and informed them that he could not receive them at his own house because they had with them there, some whom he did not know, because they had painted their faces intwo colors, and he did not know whether they were friends or enemies. He added, that one of them had gone to give the English an account of what was passing in his fort, and had spoken ill of the French. They inquired who this could be. He replied Saoten. The latter at once said, that he had already heard that they distrusted him, but that he did not wish to leave for Oswego without being justified. He wished them to name the one who had accused him. M. Pouchot said it was some little birds.[1] Then this Indian sought to justify himself, and asked permission to return to Oswego. He feared that he would be arrested.

Oratori, another chief whom they suspected, arrived about this time from Oswego. He assured us, that Onoroagon had come to find him and to say, that Johnson was ready to start to assemble the Five Nations, and that they feared lest the Outaouais of Detroit

[1] A term to express flying rumors.— *Note in Original.*

might come and strike them in the direction of Niagara, which induced them to engage to remain on their mats.

On the 10th, M. Pouchot, on behalf of M. de Vaudreuil, assisted at the marriage of Kouatageté, and made presents in the name of that general.

On the 14th, a Missisake who came from Oswego, said that there was a larger army there than had ever been before. Onoroagon had charged him to tell his brothers at La Presentation, not to plant, because the English would destroy everything, and that those who did not wish to die, should remove to Toniata,[1] an island above Fort Lévis. The intention of the English, according to him, was not to stop long at Fort Lévis. They were making rafts to carry their artillery, and intended to approach on both shores to batter the fort, until their barges could land on every side to take it. On the 16th, there arrived a party of five Missisakes, with three soldiers of the Royal-Americans, whom they had taken while fishing near the little rapid at Oswego, without its being noticed at the fort. M. Pouchot sent the accounts given by the prisoners to the generals. They reported that there were five thousand men at Oswego.

On the 18th, M. Pouchot held a grand council with the chiefs and women of Chouegatchi, to induce them to recall the families that had gone to establish themselves at Toniata. He said to them, "Your father

[1] Grenadier Island. — Ed.

Onontio, has sent me hither to guard you, and to do a good work with you, but I am pained to see among the children of Onontio, some who do not love him. I have detached some of your chosen people to Oswego, to get the news. You have sent deputies to the Five Nations to know if they reject you; but I see with pain, that they think only of going to Oswego to get brandy, which occupies you so much, that you do not think you are at war with the English. I know of five who went to Toniata with an English flag, planted doubtless for greater security. They are continually drunk there, and when my party of Missisakes passed, they wished to persuade them to take back their prisoners to Oswego, telling them they would give them all the brandy they wanted."

They deliberated about sending to root out these treacherous fellows, as well as those of the same class at La Presentation, and to make them return after planting time to the Isle Piquet,[1] where this mission was established. They finally decreed that those who did not wish to come, should be allowed to do as they wished, but that they should no longer be considered as belonging to their village.

An Iroquois named Sans-Souci, belonging to this mission, who come from Oswego, did not wish to attend this council. In the evening he came to find M. Pouchot, who was looking around the fort. The

[1] Now known as the Galloo Island.— Ed.

latter reproached him for having been to Oswego without notifying him, and for having there spoken ill of the French, in wishing them destroyed in these parts. He denied every thing and added, that we could only reproach him for saying, that he was his own master. He said he had nothing in his heart which he wished to hold, and that in speaking familliarly with the commandant at Oswego, the latter had said to him as follows: "Is it true that the commandant of Niagara is at Orakointon? He will then die, as he did last year, and this time he will die together with all the Indians that are with him. In six days the other vessel will arrive from Niagara, and we shall then set out. Our army will consist of twelve thousand men, and we will at once go and establish ourselves at La Presentation. After having surrounded it with our vessels and barges, we will batter his fort, by turning all the shores and islands near, and we will hold fast. We will then go on down to Montreal."

Sans-Souci also reported, that they had there more than two hundred bateaux, which lay around the great vessel. He asked M. Pouchot why he had not yet put his cannon upon the ramparts. He replied, that nothing was wanting as he could see, and that he would not put them in place until he was ready to fight the English, as he did not wish to inform them how many he had, nor where he had placed them.

On the 19th, M. Pouchot sent out a party of four-

teen Indians. His Indian spies announced from the Isle of Toniata, the return of their people who had gone to establish themselves there, and that they had given up their English flag. One of them from Oswego said, that it was the governor of the Grand Sabre,[1] who was to command their army.

On the 27th, La Broquerie, who was to command the barque Outaouaise, arrived. On the 30th, Oratori came from Toniata, and informed M. Pouchot, that Sans-Souci had gone back to Oswego, and that he was paid by the English to come to the fort, to learn what was going on. He informed also, that a party of Iroquois would arrive in eight days by the South river,[2] not wishing to assemble their canoes, because Sans-Souci would tell the English that they were abroad. They expected to strike by Oneida lake. The same day, an Indian arrived from Oswego saying, that the commandant wished to engage the Onondagas to form a party for reprisal, but that they had refused. If those at Chouegatchi should strike, they would raise a band of the Bears, to strike at St. Regis. Sans-Souci had informed the English that a party of our Indians were out.

On the 13th, Kouatageté arrived at La Presentation, having in tow two bark canoes, which he had taken from a party of eight Indians, and an English-

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[1] Gen. Amherst, governor of Virginia.— *Note in Original.*

[2] Susquehannah river.— Ed.

man, who had to come to strike near the fort. He found himself alone with some women in his canoe, having landed above the rapids of the Chouegatchi river. He met this party and entered into conversation with them, saying: "The Master of Life has sent me a good dream for you and for me. Since I have met you I am free to say, that you are all dead men if you do not retire as soon as possible. You think you are quite a distance off, but you are within the French posts, and you are discovered, so I advise you to get away as quick as you can."

The Indians replied to him; "We see very well that we have had a foolish dream, and since we are discovered, we will profit by your advice, but first tell us who you are, and give us some news, we will impart to you all that we know."

The latter replied: "I am Kouatageté." They asked him if they had many Outaouaise with them? He replied that they had some, but that they had mostly gone down to Montreal by the great river; that their fort was finished, and that the commandant only wanted the English to come, to fight them. They enquired if it was true that the French had been unable to retake Quebec? He replied, "yes."

They in their turn informed him that the Englishmen who was with them, had fought three years in the war on the great lake against Onontio,[1] that they had taken twenty-five ships, that Onontio had no

[1] The king of France.—*Note in Original.*

more left except some that in going out they would take; that the French had been in the country where the king of England was, and had marched at once,[1] but had returned. They always said to the king of England, to take care of himself, and that they were going to kill him, but that they had not yet marched.[2] They were then waiting for their vessels to come up to Quebec, and after that, the army assembled at St. Frederic, and that at Chouegen would march without stopping at Fort Orakointon. They added that the English only waited for their return, to bring their army to Fort Stanwix, and that Bradstreet was charged with bringing the cannon from Albany. They also said that one of their parties had gone in the direction of St. Regis, and that they had another of Onondagas out who had met the fires of one of ours.[3] M. Pouchot thought this might be Thibaut [4] a captain of *Rangers*, or *coureurs de bois*, or an officer of the marine who wished to reconnoitre the river himself. They had left to guard their kettle, or depot, two Indians and an Englishman. The chief of the party called the Red-Squirrel, was a son of Hanging-Belt. The others were Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas and three Missisakes whom the English had stopped and sent to Johnson.

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[1] The descent upon Ireland by Captain Thurot.— *Note in Original.*

[2] This was a project for the invasion of England.— *Ib.*

[3] That of the thirty Abenakis.— *Ib.*

[4] Tiebout.— Ed.

On the 4th, four Missisake chiefs came to the fort, and asked to hold a council before the orator of La Presentation. They presented four strings of wampum. By the first, they said to M. Pouchot as follows: "Since we have lost our father at Niagara, we have all become stupid. We don't know how to undertake any thing, and we have no more courage. We hear all kinds of stories without knowing upon what to depend. In short, we who speak to you, have come to our father who had pity on us; we have heard nothing since, and we are not hindered by the trees[1] that have been felled there across the path which leads to our father's house, and we have come to see what he thinks."

By the second: "Father, we need your pity. We have no longer any ammunition, nor any thing to cover us since we lost you. We hope you will have pity on us. Our people will all die this winter. Hunger has made us eat up some ten this winter (on the side of lake Huron). We depend on you to take pity on us."

By the third: "Father, we pray you to hear us. We deserve your pity. We ask leave to come near you, so that we can listen to your will, and that you may tell us what we should do, and what we should become. We wish to light our fire on this side."

By the fourth: "Father, we have spoken to the

[1] The difficulties that embarrassed the route.—*Note in Original.*

Iroquois of Chougatchi. We are well pleased that you listened to what we said, and that you were able to unite us in feeling."

By a belt, the orator of La Presentation replied to them: "Brother, we are worthy of pity. You see us here reduced to a few people to make a village, but if you will listen to us, it can become very large. Our lot is wretched since we have lost our father. We are like fools; we do not know what to think. We hear all kinds of mischievous birds,[1] who speak one thing and another. We don't know what to trust or to whom to listen. When we were with you, we listened together to our father, and took him by the hand. We knew what we ought to do, and we took good councils."

By several strings they continued. "We ask you to grant us a place where we can kindle our fire, and where we can hunt and fish to support our families, and listen together to our father."

The Orator promised to present their requests in full council, and to give his reply on the morrow.

They said to M. Pouchot, that they had come from the little chief at the foot of the lake,[2] who had sent them to know his manner of thinking on their behalf, and upon this he replied to them, that he was determined to come and see him. He said that last autumn

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[1] Public rumors.— *Note in Original.*

[2] The English called him the king.— *Ib.*

he had been charged by Peminol,[1] to carry belts to the upper nations, which had been sent by M. de Vaudreuil, but that they had made no reply, because they were as fools and all scattered, and that they died in great numbers of the brandy that had been sent by the English. He added that he had himself waited more than a month at the upper part of the river Machiachie,[2] without any one appearing, and he believed them all dead. As for the rest, he did not conceal that there were many whose spirit the English had spoiled, and who labored on bad affairs. He confessed that he had been the fall before to Niagara, and that he had said to the commandant: "Brother: for I am obliged to call you so, we come here to know what you think about us. You have taken the land of our fathers, where we found everything we needed. We wish to know how you intend to treat us. We have no more ammunition and nothing to cover us."

The English commandant replied by throwing them a string of wampum which they were tempted not to pick up: "You should look nowhere else. You will find here all you need, but for the present we have nothing for you. In the spring we will supply you with everything," and he then sent and gave them a pound of powder and some balls. They returned this spring to Niagara to know the result of his promises.

[1] A very faithful chief. — *Note in Original.*

[2] The place chiefly inhabited by this nation. — *Ib.*

The commandant replied, that he had not yet received the merchandize, but if they wanted some brandy he had a fine lot. He ended by giving them the value of a little kettle, which they consumed on the spot as they had not enough to get away with.

They informed us that the vessel which they were building at Niagara was thirteen fathoms long, and that the Sauteurs of Michilimakinac had been at Niagara to see how they would be treated, but that they had returned very discontented, the commandant having only allowed them to sell their merchandizes. They also said that all the Indian nations around the lakes had made a league together,[1] and that the Missisakes alone had not as yet engaged in it, and that a great Iroquois chief had come to bring the words to the Little Chief, and to engage to come to council at the homes of the Five Nations, to find the means of making the land quiet. This chief had refused it, saying to him that if they had any council to hold, they might come themselves and find them, and he would hear them. Since then they had been much cast down, and the Iroquois had resolved to come and find him. They refused to inform the Little Chief upon the object and result of this assembly. The party of Iroquois sent out to Oneida Lake was met by another of Onondagas. They agreed between themselves to return.

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[1] Under the chief Pondiac. — *Note in Original.*

On the 6th, the orator came, attended by the chiefs and women of the council, and said to M. Pouchot that they had come to give an answer to the Missisakes in his presence. They brought some strings,[1] and a fine belt of five thousand beads.

By the first string he said: "Brothers, I thank the Master of Life, who has given us a fine day, to meet you in good health, and that we find you enjoying the same."

By the second string: "I open your ears so that you can well understand what I am going to say to you."

By the third string: "This is to clear your stomachs of that bad bile which gives a black humor, so that you may listen quietly and with pleasure."

By the fourth: "I cover the dead bodies of all your warriors, since we are on an occasion when all our mats are together, so that you can, after leaving your mourning, hear with cheerfulness and contentment."

By the belt: "Brothers, we have listened well to your word. We are pleased that you have not lent your ears to the bad birds, and that you have remembered what you were told of old, that you should have recourse to your father. This is showing the same spirit as our ancestors who have passed away, and who thought of nothing but to labor upon good affairs. We have great joy at seeing you of these sentiments, but we pray you to speak from the heart, and not from the

[1] These strings of wampum are always the preamble of councils. — *Note in Original.*

lips. In this case you may be able to come promptly. We invite you to come very soon, and to make your fire only with us, and here you will hear the words of our father, as we who wish to die with him. We live on the islands where you will find all you want to eat in the waters and in the woods. As for the rest, our father will furnish us the means of satisfying all your wants."

This was the substance of the orator's speech, which was quite long. He was very famous among them. He sent also some strings on behalf of the missionary, to engage them to come and hear the words of the Master of Life.

The Missisakes replied: "We thank you brothers. We have never heard anything spoken like this, we do not comprehend you. We thank you for having had pity on us, and that you wish us to have but one dish and one spoon with us. I shall go full of joy at what we have heard, and I shall carry your words to our chief, and if the Master of Life preserves me, will come to you again in a little while."

The orator thanked him and said: "I am delighted that you have used the expression of having the same dish and spoon. It reminds me of the very words of our ancestors. Onontio had engaged by this expression the members of all the nations to regard themselves as brothers and his children."

M. Pouchot also sent a belt to the Little Chief, to assure him of his good intentions towards him, and that he would receive him with pleasure. A father is

always pleased to see his family assembled, and to be able to speak to them from his heart and to treat them well.

On the 9th, Sonnonguires arrived from Oswego, and informed that two regiments had arrived there. An Oneida had reported that the Five Nations were intending to come at once to Oswego, and from thence to scatter themselves all along the river to La Presentation, to cut off communication with Montreal. He pretended that the French had assured him that they would march in two months, to ravage the country of the Five Nations; that since we were no longer allies, they wished to come themselves, and that Onontio was no longer what he formerly was when he used to speak with them, and all the nations held him in fear. They said that now, he had only a desire to strike them, that formerly they had fought against them, although he arose but once for that purpose, but now that their turn had come. He then said, that the English had more than three thousand bateaux at Schenectady, and that they were then actually making the portage of Oneida Lake with some large bateaux.

On the 12th, M. Pouchot held a council with the Indians of La Presentation. He said to them reproachfully that he had witnessed with pain that the most of them had let their hearts be spoiled by the bad rum which the English gave them; that their legs were benumbed since they had amused themselves at Oswego by talking only of bad news, instead of bringing some living letters upon which they could depend.

The Indians resolved among themselves, to send Kouatageté, Oratori and four others to lay in wait at Oswego, under the pretext of informing themselves whether the Five Nations had rejected them, or if they could better themselves by preferring the English to the French. The real object was to know the part they were going to take. Although they were attached to the French, they wished nevertheless to inform their own people, in case the English should penetrate into these parts. This brave Indian Kouatageté, since he had become a Christian, thought of nothing but good affairs, and pretended that his religion was repugnant to the profession of the warrior.

M. Pouchot felt that the English might either prevent or arrest these Indians, did all he could to dissuade them from going to Oswego. He foresaw that they would not be recognized by the whites, who would take them for spies. He could not imagine that they would be wanting on this point. M. Pouchot had rather preferred to engage some war parties to bring him prisoners. We will observe that before the taking of Oswego Kouatageté was medal-chief; strongly attached to the English, and employed by them as a spy. When we were at Frontenac, the commanders at that fort used him when they wished to buy from, or traffic with the English, such as calicos, &c. This Indian was so offended at this place being lost, that he abandoned them, and gave himself entirely up to the French.

On the 17th, Penimol, a faithful Missisake chief, arrived with several Iroquois and Nepicings. He was charged with a belt on behalf of M. de Vaudreuil, to invite the nations to descend to Montreal to oppose the English. All the Indians were undecided. They said that we and they were shut up by the English as if on an island, and that they did not know on what side to strike to get away. This expressed our condition very exactly. He promised to leave immediately to notify them, but said he was afraid he should not succeed, because the Indians were all scattered so as not to be taken. He added, that some Pouteotamis who had come to trade at Niagara, had said to the English: "We have come to see how you will treat us, since you have driven out of here our father. We ask some powder and balls to hunt, and to have something to sell to you, but we do not come to make alliance with you, for we are always under the wings of our father. We are at war with you, but necessity compels us to ask for our wants."

On the 18th, M. Pouchot caused one hundred men to embark upon the vessels with a month's provisions, to go and cruise before Oswego. About this time there appeared a prodigious quantity of that kind of little millers that come in the night time to fly around and burn themselves in a candle. They called them *Manne*, and they fell like snow. They were very annoying by getting into the food, and by night the light attracted them so that we could scarcely write

on account of the annoyance which these insects occasioned. They appeared for fifteen days, and of different kinds, as grey, speckled, yellow and white. To these succeeded a kind of white midge, very troublesome from their numbers, but they did not sting. The rains killed them, and the earth was covered so that they were two fingers-breadth deep on all the ramparts, and three or four inches in the bateaux, where their decay left a great infection. We were obliged in the fort to shovel them away as we do snow. These midges were nevertheless useful,[1] as those that

[1] Upon consulting Dr. Asa Fitch, the celebrated entomologist, with reference to the above statements, we have received the following reply:

Dr. Franklin B. Hough.

Dear Sir: — The extract from Pouchot's Memoirs, which you have kindly sent me, is quite interesting. And in answer to your query,— What could these insects have been? — I would observe, that it cannot be supposed such prodigious numbers of insects could have grown upon this island. They undoubtedly came from the waters surrounding it. And the facts mentioned render it quite certain, I think, that the "little millers" first spoken of, were some species of the *Phryganea* group, commonly called caddis-flies and water-moths. Various kinds of these in their larvæ state occur everywhere in our rivers and lakes, as well as in our smallest streams and pools, inhabiting rough cylindrical tubes which they form around themselves from any fragments of decayed wood, grass and other substances which they meet with lying loose on the bottom. Most persons have noticed these larvæ crawling in the margin of the water, with their heads protruded from the end of the tube, and laboriously drawing this along as they advance. It is probable that in June, 1760, a cool spell of weather occurred to retard multitudes of these insects from completing their transformations, and this being followed by hot, sultry weather, caused them to suddenly issue from the water in such immense numbers as M. Pouchot witnessed.

The other insects, spoken of as being white midges which did not

fell into the river gave nourishment or bait to the fish, which grew to a large size this season, and the Indians caught them in great quantities, especially eels in the vicinity of Toniata.

All the soil on that island, which is very shallow, was covered this season with thousands of little toads. In the environs we found plenty of mushrooms five or six inches apart and nearly three inches thick at the base, of a most luscious taste. M. de Vaudreuil sent up at that time, forty Abenakes from down the river, to whom M. Pouchot gave the Isle des Galots to plant.

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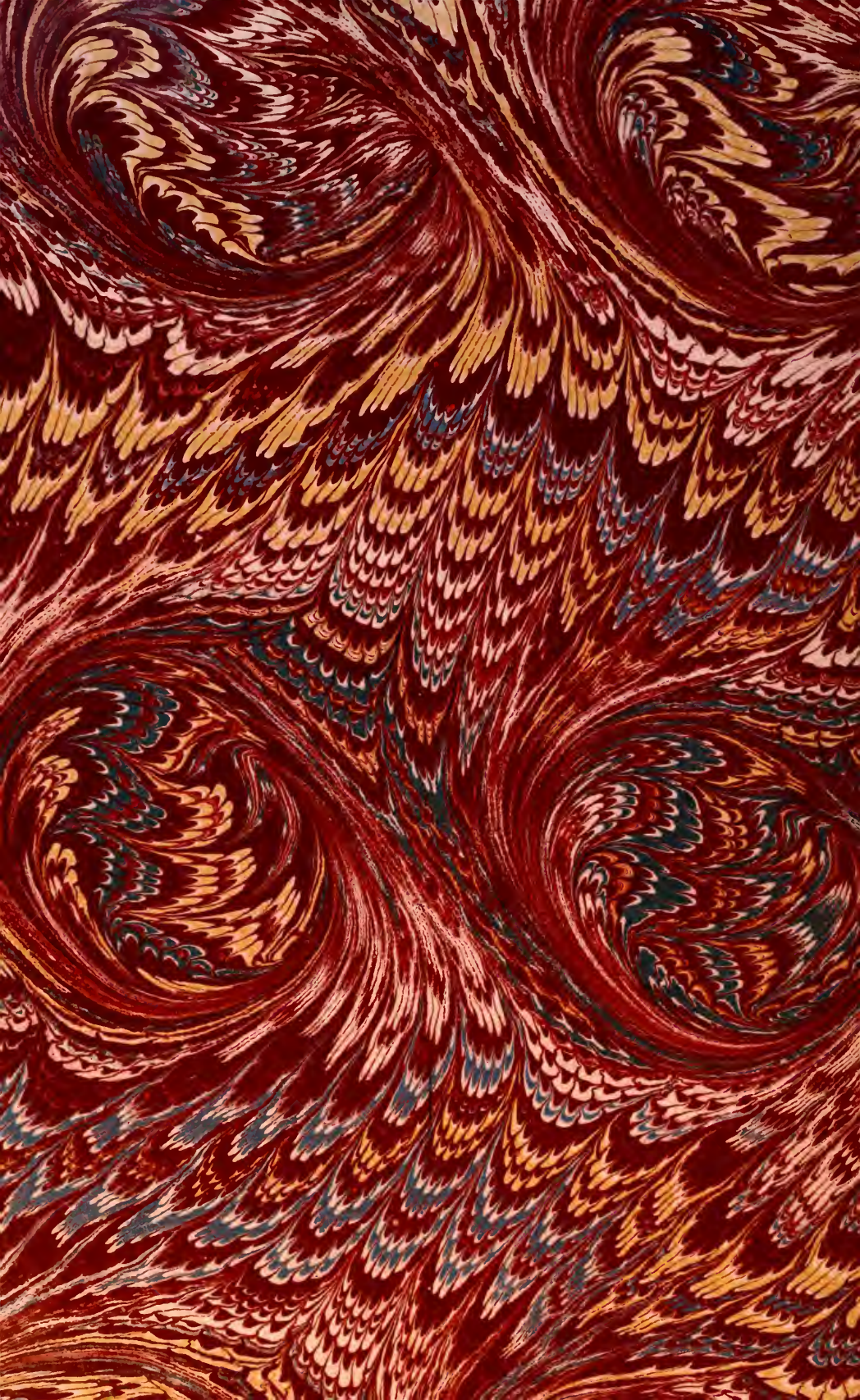
sting, were evidently one or more species of the extensive genus *Chironomus*, the larvæ of which likewise live in the water, and which in their perfect state are excessively numerous in damp, shaded situations along the margins of streams, where they frequently associate together to engage in aërial dances, in swarms made up of such immense numbers that at a short distance off they appear like clouds of smoke. These midges are such tiny creatures, and so very soft and delicate that they might appropriately be termed flakes of entomological *nihil album*, or the fishes' *blanc-mange* (food for fish, being the only purpose for which they appear to have been created). Hence, although their numbers are so immense, I have never met with an instance in which their perishing remains were strewed upon the ground so profusely as to impart their color to the surface; and the statement that they occurred on this island in such quantities as to cover the surface, in some places to a depth of two to four inches, and requiring to be shovelled aside like newly fallen snow, appears almost incredible, none of our accounts of these insects recording any approach to a similar phenomenon.

In each of these groups of insects which I have mentioned, the species are so numerous, and many of them so closely similar to each other, that it is only by observations made at the locality referred to, and at the same period of the year, that the particular species to which M. Pouchot alludes can be ascertained.

Respectfully yours,

ASA FITCH.